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ABSTRACT

This evaluation describes two supplementary education interventions: the All Stars Talent Show Network (ASTSN) and the Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth (DSY). The ASTSN is a 19-year-old program that provides youth age 5-25 with opportunities to produce and participate in talent shows, thus creating stages where youth can successfully present themselves and contribute to their own development. The DSY is a career and leadership training program founded in 1997. Evaluation of the programs focused on 11 criteria drawn from the literature about the merits of supplementary education programs. Results indicate that ASTSN is functioning at a high level of efficiency and effectiveness at community building, involving young people and their families in purposeful activity, encouraging self-confidence, and enhancing competence in self-presentation. DSY is functioning at an excellent level of efficiency and effectiveness in recruiting and engaging a diverse population of young people in a sustained effort at personal development through continuing guided performances in alien environments. (Contains 30 references.) (SM)

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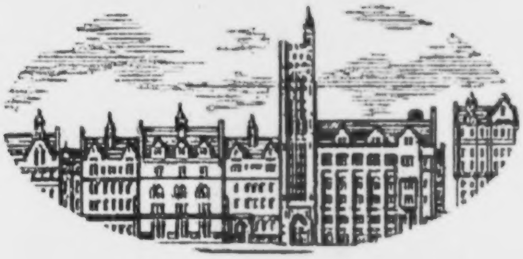
Changing the Script for Youth Development

An Evaluation of the All Stars Talent Show Network and the Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth



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June 2003

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All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players,
They have their exits, and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts

William Shakespeare
As You Like It

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The evaluation team would like to thank the members of the All Stars Project staff who facilitated our study: especially Dr. Bonny Gildin, who served as the point of contact with IUME and assisted with the organization of the project; and Antoine Joyce, Jill Battalen, Pamela A. Lewis, and Pamela Sue Hafer, who provided assistance at various phases, took time to patiently answer our questions, and recruited the All Stars participants who contributed to the evaluation.

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Contents

Executive Summary vii

I. Introduction 1
- All Stars Talent Show Network 1
- Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth 2
- Description of the Evaluation 2
  - Nature of the Problem, 3
  - Evaluative Procedures 3

II. Context of the All Stars Programs 5
- Castillo Theatre 5
- Talented Volunteers Program 7
- East Side Institute for Short Term Psychotherapy 8
- Policy and Power 9
- Historical Context of ASTSN/DSY 9
- Future Plans 10

III. Conceptual Basis of the All Stars Programs 11
- Theoretical Support for ASTSN/DSY 11
  - Activity Theory 12
  - Performance and Identity Play 13
  - Political Activism 14
- The Performance Approach in Perspective 14

IV. Personnel: Who Serves and Who Is Served? 16
- Who Are the Youth Participants? 16
- Who Are the Staff? 17
  - Organizational Leadership and Support 18
  - Youth Programs 19
- Who Are the Leaders of the All Stars Project? 21
- Who Are the Donors? 22

V. All Stars Talent Show Network 24
- Schedule 25
- Procedures Observed 26
  - Phase 1: Street Outreach 26
  - Phase 2: Talent Show Audition 27
  - Phase 3: Development Workshop 30
  - Phase 4: Talent Show 31
  - Young Leaders for Change 36
- Nature and Quality of Participation 37
- Reactions of Participants 38
- Observer Impressions 42

VI. Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth 43
Schedule 44
Procedures Observed 45
  Recruitment 45
  Development Day Workshop 53
  Workshop Sessions 56
  Graduation 60
  Corporate Internships 63
  Corporate Sponsors Reception 64
  Program Associates: Roles, Responsibilities, and Motivation 65
Nature and Quality of Participation 73
Reactions of Participants 75
  Beginning Participants 75
  Students Interviewed During Their Internship 78
  DSY Postgraduates 79
Observer Impressions 83
  Fitting In vs. Changing the World 83
  Re-Creating a Culture: A Regenerative Model 83
  Commitment 84

VII. Discussion 86
ASTSN/DSY as a Form of Supplementary Education 86
Reviews of Current Studies on Supplementary Education 86
Representative Supplementary Education Programs 88
  Explicit Intervention Programs 88
  Implicit Intervention Programs 89
  Implicit/Explicit Programs 90
The All Stars Project and the Development of Human Resource Capital 90
ASTSN/DSY and Academic Achievement 91
ASTSN/DSY Implements Gordon's Targeted Strategies 93
  Developing Self-Understanding and Self-Management 94
  Creating a Supportive Community Context 95
ASTSN/DSY as an Antiviolence Program 96
Consistency Between the Talk and the Walk 97

VIII. What Makes a High-Quality Supplementary Education Program? 99
How Well Do ASTSN and DSY Meet These Criteria 99
Illustrations 101

IX. Summary Impressions 108

References 113

Executive Summary

What follows is an ethnographic documentation and connoisseur's evaluation of two programs sponsored by the All Stars Project, Inc. Since its creation in 1981, the All Stars Project has expanded from a low-budget initiative into a multimillion dollar grassroots organization that serves tens of thousands of young people annually, including some of New York City's poorest youth. Conceived by the philosopher Dr. Fred Newman and the developmental psychologist Dr. Lenora Fulani, this nonprofit organization provides talent show opportunities and leadership training through two supplementary education programs: the All Stars Talent Show Network (ASTSN) and the Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth (DSY).

All Stars Talent Show Network

The All Stars Talent Show Network (ASTSN) is a 19-year-old program directed by Pamela A. Lewis that provides young people from the age of 5 to 25 the opportunity to produce and participate in talent shows. The purpose of the All Stars Talent Show is to create stages (occasions) where young people can successfully present themselves and, in the process, contribute to their own development. The program's conceptual base rests on the premise that human life is a performance, and that through the act of performing participants can learn what it means to perform, on the stage and off the stage, as other than who they are. Another concept that guides the program is activity theory, which suggests that human growth occurs as a result of participation in social activity.

Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth

The Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth (DSY) is a career and leadership training program founded in 1997 and directed by Dr. Lenora Fulani and Pamela A. Lewis. Young people between the ages of 16 and 21 who aspire to be leaders are accepted into DSY after submitting an essay on leadership. Training workshops are led by volunteer Program Associates, who are corporate professionals (bankers, lawyers, consultants). Program Associates teach participants interpersonal skills, public speaking, résumé writing, interviewing skills, professional conduct, and dressing for success. Participants also visit corporate sites where they meet with senior executives. Through their performances in various corporate-related roles, participants are socialized to develop professionally, personally, and socially. They learn that they can perform both as the persons they currently are, and as the persons they are becoming.

Documentation and Evaluation

This evaluation report provides a rich description of the functional characteristics of these two programs as well as of the people who participate in them. Both programs belong to a new class of educational interventions called supplementary education. The evaluators have used eleven criteria, drawn from the literature concerning supplementary education, to make judgments about the relative merits of these programs. These criteria are presented in the first column of the following table. In the remaining columns, the ASTSN and DSY programs have been rated with respect to each criterion on a scale of 1-5 (with 5 being the highest).

Ratings of ASTSN and DSY According to 11 Criteria

Criterion	*ASTSN*	*DSY*
1. Adapt their content to, and build on, the interests of young people in ways that are developmentally appropriate to their changing needs.	3	5
2. Acknowledge, respect, and respond to the diverse circumstances and experiences that young people experience.	4	5
3. Provide young people with opportunities and tools to succeed.	4	5
4. Recruit and invest in highly qualified and diverse volunteer and paid staff to ensure program success.	5	5
5. Extend and offer a safe and accessible place for young people to go to in the non-school hours.	3	4
6. Involve parents and work in partnerships with families, community partners, and schools.	4	4
7. Advocate strongly for youth and foster a sense of belonging and inclusion.	5	5
8. Have high expectations, clear goals, and social norms for their participants.	4	5
9. Recognize that positive adult-youth relationships are significant to the success of the program.	5	5
10. Specify their program outcomes and evaluate the extent to which these goals are achieved.	2	4
11. Provide opportunities for participants to contribute to the community.	5	5

Discussion

Like many exemplary programs found in the literature of supplementary education, ASTSN and DSY are serving many different functions in the lives of thousands of young people. They offer access to a wide range of resources such as contacts with influential and professional adults, mentors, computers, artistic equipment, and even food. Similar to documented "effective community-based organizations," these programs "engage young people in challenging but fun things to do, offer a safe haven from the dangerous streets, and provide ways of spending free time that contribute significantly to their learning and social development" (McLaughlin, 2000).

Both ASTSN and DSY are primarily concerned with the use of active participation in the presentation of self as a vehicle for continued learning and personal growth. Both programs depend on voluntary participation, and are directed at providing developmental experiences for young people who are under-represented in the mainstream of high-achieving youth and young adults. Both of these programs involve guided performance in deliberately contrived, protected situations of challenge—one in the entertainment sector and one in the corporate sector.

ASTSN is less participant-interaction-intensive and briefer in contact time than DSY. ASTSN is less structured, and the standards for acceptable performance are, intentionally, considerably more fluid. It is thus more casual and possibly more participant-friendly. Its appeal is its open-endedness, climate of "do your own thing," and noncritical inclusion. One gets the impression that ASTSN seeks to create a community in which one's activity can contribute to personal growth, whereas DSY seeks to create persons whose coached activity can contribute to greater adaptability to multiple communities.

These more abstract characterizations of the two programs are reflected in their ratings in the table above. Based on our observations and contacts with participants, these ratings suggest that—

- The content of the DSY program is more differentiated, and appropriately so, than that of the ASTSN program.
- By the nature of its program, DSY is more adaptive to the diverse circumstances of young people's lives.
- Both programs provide opportunities for success, while DSY provides greater opportunity for the development of the tools for success.
- DSY is slightly ahead of ASTSN in providing a safe and accessible place, but largely because of the shorter contact time provided by the talent show program.

- The ASTSN is designed to be more open-ended with respect to expectations, goals, and norms, while DSY is designed to keep expectations and goals implicit in all the activity; however, these criteria are made explicit when found to be necessary.
- The short-term contact provided through ASTSN does not lend itself to the evaluation of developmental outcomes for its participants, but the ASTSN could be effectively evaluated for its impact on community building.
- Evidence of the extent to which the more explicit goals of DSY are achieved is readily available in the in vivo performances of the participants and the rich participant contacts, which could be documented and mined for the purposes of a more detailed evaluation.
- The two programs are unique examples of an emerging genre of educational services that are supplemental to the more traditional forms of education. When judged by criteria drawn from the research literature, these programs are rated quite high; on a scale of 1-5, with five being highest, ASTSN is rated at 4.0, and DSY at 4.72.

Just 25 years ago, the All Stars Talent Show Network program would have been called a talent show or amateur entertainment, and the Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth would have been called business or vocational education. At the turn of the 21st century, we recognize these theory-driven programs of the All Stars Project, Incorporated as unique examples of a new pedagogical genre called *supplementary education*. Unlike much of the educative activity that is now classified as supplemental to schooling, these two programs are intentionally developmental and theory driven. While the ASTSN activities are fun and entertaining, fun and entertainment are the human activity that is instrumental to the development of self-confidence, the refinement of skills, and the enhancement of competence in self-presentation. The apprenticeship and internship activity in which DSY participants engage is clearly preparatory to the achievement of corporate employability, but its purpose is to develop self-regulation, self-presentation, and human agency through purposeful human social activity.

Both of these programs intentionally engage young people in performances that are at the growing edges of their "zones of proximal development." Thus human activity, performance, scaffolded extension of self are core components of these programs, and these constructs are grounded in theories of human behavior advanced by such scholars as Cole, Holzman, Leontiev, Lewin, Luria, Newman, and Vygotsky. The interventions are clearly educative, but they occur in communities, outside of schools, and independent of input from schools. The uniqueness of this work is that it is intentionally developmental, theoretically driven, and supplementary to formal education. It is also exemplary.

In this initial connoisseur's evaluation, attention has been directed at documenting the implementation of these programs, and at determining the quality of each. Connoisseur judgments have been made based upon documentary analysis, participants' reactions, and observers' perceptions. We have not had access to data referable to the impact of these interventions on the short or long term behavioral development of learner participants.

Using criteria distilled from the emerging research literature concerning supplementary education and youth development, we have concluded that ASTSN is functioning at a high level of efficiency and effectiveness at community building, involving young people and their families in purposeful activity, encouraging self-confidence, and for some, enhancing competence in self-presentation. In our judgment, it appears that contact time in ASTSN may not be sufficient to significantly change the course of the lives of the participants. In the three behavioral domains identified—self-confidence, self-presentation, and skills development—significant behavioral change may require more extensive and intensive intervention.

Using the same criteria referred to above, we have concluded that DSY is functioning at an excellent level of efficiency and effectiveness in recruiting and engaging a diverse population of young people in a sustained effort at personal development through continuing guided performances in alien environments. To observe participants in this program during the intervention and as graduates from it is to see young people in various stages of the achievement of self-regulation. The modal expressions of self-confidence and self-presentation in the graduates of DSY are quite high. One is impressed by the degree of human agency manifested in these young people. On the more tangible side is the positive evidence of subsequent employment, often in the agencies where they have been trained. Of no small importance is their continuing association with and involvement in the DSY program. Our data are limited to self-reports, staff accounts, observations, and we do not have long-term follow-up data, the consistently positive accounts and the consistency across multiple informers contribute to the confidence we have in these conclusions. DSY is a powerfully constructive youth development intervention that can serve as a model for others to emulate.

I. Introduction

The All Stars Project, Inc. has created and funded developmental programs based on performance theory for some of New York's poorest youth since 1981. It has expanded from a low-budget initiative into a multimillion dollar grassroots organization that serves tens of thousands of young people annually. Founded by the philosopher Dr. Fred Newman and the developmental psychologist Dr. Lenora Fulani, this nonprofit organization provides leadership training and talent show opportunities through two supplementary education programs: the All Stars Talent Show Network (ASTSN) and the Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth (DSY).

All Stars Talent Show Network

The All Stars Talent Show Network (ASTSN) is a 19-year-old program directed by Pamela A. Lewis that provides young people between the ages of 5 and 25 the opportunity to produce and participate in a talent show. The purpose of the All Stars Talent Show is to create a stage where young people can successfully present themselves and create their own development. The program's performative theory is based on the premise that human life is a performance and that through performing participants can learn what it means to perform as other than who they are both on the stage and off the stage. The other guiding theory of the program is activity theory, which proposes that human growth occurs as a result of participation in cultural activity.

Each year thousands of youth are involved with five shows throughout the five boroughs of New York City (Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Staten Island). Young people are responsible for all aspects of the production and serve as actors and entertainers as well as ushers, greeters, timekeepers, and ticket takers. Volunteers run registration, manage lights, music, and sound, and load and unload equipment for the show.

Two to three hundred young people ranging from toddlers to teens come to the auditions. The program does not censor their performances and is inclusive: everyone who auditions makes the show. Strategies to increase leadership skills and build the program include a requirement that alumni performers recruit a novice group in order to re-register for the audition. All participants are involved in a development workshop, where they learn to work in groups and to create an improvisational group performance. The goals of the workshop are to create cooperative relationships among young people from different neighborhoods and to build self-esteem. All participants who attend the workshop are eligible to participate in the talent show the following Saturday. All participants in the talent show win a trophy, and one group is selected to win a cash award of $300. After each talent show has ended, performers and audience members are encouraged to volunteer in the organization.

Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth

The Development School for Youth (DSY) is a career and leadership training program founded in 1997 by Dr. Lenora Fulani and Pamela A. Lewis. Young people between the ages of 16 and 21 who aspire to be leaders are accepted to DSY after writing and submitting an essay on leadership. Training workshops are led by volunteer Program Associates—corporate professionals (bankers, lawyers, consultants) who have received training in the "performatory approach." Program Associates teach participants interpersonal skills, public speaking, resumé writing, interviewing skills, professional conduct, and dressing for success. Through performing in various roles, participants are socialized to develop professionally, personally, and socially. They learn they can perform both as who they are and who they are becoming. For example, young people learn about the attitudes and skills needed to succeed in a professional workplace and to perform as a speaker or an entrepreneur. In addition, participants are given the opportunity to visit corporate sites such as the New York Stock Exchange and meet senior executives. A significant purpose of the program is to encourage dialogue between the participants and the professionals about their daily routines and career paths.

After completing 12 weeks of training, participants graduate from DSY and are placed in a paid summer internship in a New York business or corporation. These placements have included Fortune 500 businesses such as Merrill Lynch, Morgan Stanley Dean Witter, and Ernst & Young. In their internships, the young people learn what it is like to be a lawyer, an accountant, a stockbroker, or a financial manager by socializing and acculturating to the corporate culture.

Description of the Evaluation

Over the years, the All Stars Project has received much recognition for its successful youth development programs. This evaluative report provides detailed descriptions and documentation for the DSY and ASTSN programs.

Nature of the Problem

Current research on the developmental outcomes of extracurricular and supplementary education programs for youth has focused on the role of programs in both increasing academic achievement and decreasing school dropout rates. The prevailing academic achievement gap between ethnic minority students and majority middle-class students, the expanding demands of the labor market for well-prepared young employees, and the large amount of discretionary unsupervised time spent by young people (Eccles & Templeton, 2002) have been recent foci for evaluation studies of youth development programs. The release of *A Matter of Time: Risk and Opportunity in the Out-of-School Hours* by the Carnegie Corporation (1992) stressed the overwhelming need for creating supportive community networks for America's twenty million young people during the time when they are not in school. The document commented on the positive effect of "programs right in their own neighborhoods, [where young people] learn new skills, meet interesting peers, and encounter adults who can help them thrive" (p. 9). Unfortunately, there is a dearth of such quality supportive programs for youth. Many studies, as well as the popular press, have focused on the problems related to youth engagement in health-threatening behaviors such as alcohol and drug use and gang involvement. Youth living in poverty, in both urban and rural areas, are particularly at risk. Disturbing statistics document the rates at which young people are failing and/or dropping out of school. The wide-scale risk to the optimal development of our youth is the multidimensional problem which provides the context for this report.

One nascent solution to this trend is the supplementary education movement, which involves youth in "informal and formal learning and developmental enrichment opportunities provided for students outside of school and beyond the regular school day or year." The concept, first advanced by Edmund W. Gordon, recognizes that low-income students do not have the same "health, human, polity, cultural, and social capital" as their middle-class counterparts. For example, more-affluent young people have enrichment opportunities that include travel, dance lessons, scouting, tutoring, and summer camp. These opportunities and out-of-school resources tend to support and promote higher academic development.

Evaluative Procedures

This connoisseurial evaluation of the All Stars Project was conducted under the auspices of the Institute for Urban and Minority Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. It is an ethnographic study of the program and participants in the All Stars Talent Show Network and the Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth programs. A team of one senior/expert researcher, an assistant research scientist, and a research coordinator conducted the ten-month investigation. Data collection began in early Spring 2002 and ended in early Fall 2002. Methods of evaluation included ethnographic observations of programs and events, site visits to internships, in-depth interviews with those who play leading roles in the organization and current and past participants, and focus groups with youth and adult staff. Secondary data such as program documents and archives were also reviewed.

A connoisseurial evaluation is intended to help make informed, considered, and wise evaluative judgments concerning the phenomena under study. The connoisseur seeks to use a variety of research data to arrive at such judgments. A connoisseur's evaluation is not restricted to empirically generated data, although such data are used when available. Rather, the connoisseur relies heavily on expert knowledge, broad experience, and extensive exposure to the kinds of interventions being evaluated. Thus the connoisseur is concerned with the full range of evaluation data, but is free to make use of objective and subjective measures as well as both qualitative and quantitative data. In the search for intervention effects, the connoisseur is free to use all available data, screened for meaning and relatedness through a seasoned eye and reflected-upon experience. The connoisseur's judgment is best used not to supplant empirically based systematic evaluation, but to supplement, amplify, and explain more traditional evaluation research.

II. Context of the All Stars Programs

The All Stars Talent Show Network (ASTSN) and the Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth (DSY) are both parts of All Stars Project, Inc. This overarching organization links ASTSN and DSY with other organizations that share both resources and goals, including the Castillo Theatre and the Talented Volunteers Program. Also related to the All Stars Project are two separate organizations: the East Side Center for Social Therapy, a center for therapy practice, and the East Side Institute for Short Term Psychotherapy, a research and training center for new approaches to human development and community building.

This constellation of organizations enhances the success of each component by encouraging mutual support and providing further access to resources. They form a larger community that encompasses a creative theater-based community, a youth development community, and a therapeutic community. There are also strong connections to progressive political activism within all of these communities. Thus the theatrical, youth development, and therapeutic communities are functionally related to each other, and all three are philosophically related to the progressive political community.

This program unfolds within the geographical context of New York City, a center of international business and art that has developed a unique culture. Important to an understanding of the program is the vibrancy of the city's many cultures and languages, and the pride residents take in the diversity of their city. Equally diverse are the social and economic divides that position the very rich alongside the very poor. The affluence of the city's business life does not necessarily extend to more marginal, under-resourced communities. It is these communities that the All Stars Project has selected as its target population. The stark contrasts between the cosmopolitan corporate world and the circumscribed and underdeveloped experiences of many young people from the surrounding boroughs are the cultural dissonance on which the ASTSN/DSY programs are based. Promoting and guiding the meeting of these two worlds is the central strategy of the development project.

Castillo Theatre

The Castillo Theatre, a well-known off-off Broadway theatre, presents original theatre, dance and musical productions that are "both thought provoking and highly entertaining." The presentations deal with social issues, historical events, and contemporary situations and are designed to challenge the audience into "new ways of seeing our world and ourselves." They attract audiences that represent the diversity of the city.

The Castillo Theater is a community theater whose playwrights, performers, and directors are not necessarily theatre professionals. As a product of the performatory theory, it provides a laboratory that allows members of the All Stars communities to apply what they are learning in a variety of ways.

The theatre is named after Otto Rene Castillo, a Guatemalan poet and activist. His message is illustrated by his poem "Apolitical Intellectuals," in which he challenges intellectuals to be present in the struggles of the poor.

> *One day,*
> *the apolitical*
> *intellectuals*
> *of my country*
> *will be interrogated*
> *by the simplest*
> *of our people*
>
> *They will be asked…*
> *"What did you do when*
> *the poor suffered, when tenderness*
> *and life*
> *burned out in them?"*

The poem ends with—

> *Apolitical intellectuals*
> *Of my sweet country,*
> *You will not be able to answer.*
>
> *A vulture of silence*
> *Will eat your gut*
> *Your own misery*
> *Will pick at your soul*
> *And you will be mute in your shame.*

Under the direction of Fred Newman, the Castillo Theatre has produced more than 80 plays and musicals in the last 17 years. Many of these have been written by Dr. Newman, including—

- *Still on the Corner, a musical that portrays the relationships between a community of homeless people on New York City's West Side and their middle-class neighbors*
- *Stealin' Home, a drama that explores the life and legacy of baseball great Jackie Robinson*
- *Sally and Tom (The American Way), a musical that looks at the love affair between Thomas Jefferson and his slave Sally Hemings*

Other productions have featured prominent playwrights both contemporary and historical.

The original musical play *Crown Heights,* written by Fred Newman, Dan Friedman, and Jacqueline Salit, was a collaboration between the Castillo Theatre and inner-city youth from the All Stars Talent Show Network. This play explores the events surrounding the incident in which a Black child was killed by a car in a Jewish motorcade and a rabbinical student was subsequently stabbed to death. The play unfolds like a Greek tragedy with choruses commenting on the action in both Rap and Hebrew chants. The relationships between the Hasidic characters and the African American characters are explored in full as the young Jewish murder victim confronts his murderers. Both African American and Jewish audience members were deeply affected by the performance. One observer commented, "This play lets you know that people can bring up subjects like this and handle it. They can change."

Five Points Productions, an offshoot of the Castillo Theatre, is an alliance of "creatively and culturally diverse theatre and performing arts groups." The purpose of the consortium is to work together to build broader support for community-based art and theatre.

The Castillo Theatre is a creative outlet that knits together the staff and participants of the various sister organizations. The work of producing, directing, and presenting the plays involves a cross-section of participants from all the sister organizations. ASTSN/DSY participants are encouraged to attend the performances. They are periodically invited to "Pizza and a Play" matinee performances. Many shows, such as *Crown Heights,* involve All Star performers in their casts. Play readings are sometimes part of the youth activities that young people initiate. Thus, Castillo strengthens the ties between members of the large All Stars community and supplies a laboratory for experimentation with performance development theory.

Talented Volunteers Program

Many hundreds of volunteers contribute their time and talents to the All Stars Project through the Talented Volunteers Program. The program estimates that the time and expertise contributed by these volunteers would, if given a monetary value, amount to millions of dollars.

More than 500 people visit the project each year to explore volunteer opportunities. Approximately 25 are placed in assignments each month and over 200 volunteer on a regular basis. The volunteers are tremendously diverse, from affluent communities to the poorest communities, professionals to unemployed. They find the All Stars

Project in a number of ways, including word of mouth, referral services, schools, and the Internet. New volunteers start by receiving orientation and training in two Saturday afternoon workshops at the All Stars headquarters. Volunteers need not have previous experience and there is no minimum time commitment. Volunteer activities are varied and include outreach in the community to recruit youth to audition, organizing special events and business-related activities, providing technical support to the Castillo Theatre, fundraising, and assisting with administrative tasks. Corporate Volunteer Days are another part of this program. Activities also include a wide range of collaborations with other institutions in the city.

The Talented Volunteers Program has received a variety of awards and honors:

- Daily Points of Light Award, February 2000
- First Place and $5,000 from Mutual of New York (MONY) for Best Volunteer Site for Working People in NYC, April 2000
- Two awards for service to New York City from the Mayor's Office on Voluntary Action, 1999
- Silver Apple Award, 2000, to Michael Carracappa
- Bronze Apple Award, 2000, to Dialers for Youth Development-the All Stars Fundraising Team

Volunteers, who take important leadership positions throughout the organization, have demonstrated that, as one volunteer commented, "It is possible for people from diverse communities to work together."

East Side Institute for Short Term Psychotherapy

The All Stars Project shares a locale with the East Side Institute for Short Term Psychotherapy, a nonprofit international training and research center for new approaches to human development and community building. The founders and participants see the Institute as a catalyst in changing the understanding and practice of psychology from a diagnostic and evaluative approach to a developmental approach. This approach, called social therapy, emphasizes the emotional, social, and cultural development of all people and their communities. Counselors, therapists, psychologists, social workers, teachers, and physicians are some of the professionals who have received training in the Institute's social therapeutic approach. Other activities of the institute include international conferences, collaborative projects, educational programs, seminars, and publications.

Policy and Power

The ASTSN/DSY is a nonaffiliated organization. However, it does operate in the context of the personal political commitments of its participants. In our society, there appears to be a big divide between those who are concerned about policy and those who are concerned with power. Unfortunately, it is usually those with power who get to determine policy; hence, the tremendous misdirection of energy and finances in most undertakings. Such an acknowledgment has informed the All Stars Project's approach and has contributed to its success. It has been noted that many of the staff and the volunteers who contribute to the All Stars are themselves involved in various political movements, most centrally Independent Party politics. While sometimes used as a point of attack by unfriendly media, the political networking has given the All Stars Project access to some halls of power that would have otherwise been closed. The participants and staff of the ASTSN/DSY have developed policy approaches to working with youth that are practical, efficient, and successful. That they have also worked to develop some influence in the halls of power is a tremendous asset to the development of the programs—as well as to the political process, which needs all the direction it can get in developing and implementing policy.

Historical Context of ASTSN/DSY

The All Stars Talent Show Network began in 1983 as a very small program associated with work being done with welfare recipients. The young people involved started saying that they would like to perform in shows, so the founders responded to that request. One of the first shows was an Independent Break Dance Concert, which brought together young performers from all over New York City. The first Rainbow Talent Show, produced in July 1984 with Dr. Fulani as producer, was attended by 800 people. By 1985, the All Stars Talent Show Network took shape, and community organizers began local shows in communities such as the South Bronx and Harlem. That was the first year the ASTSN began holding All Stars finals. By 1986, the All Stars had expanded into more neighborhoods and was hosting two national finals per year. In 1988, the national finals were moved to Town Hall, and Regina Belle became the first celebrity endorser.

By the spring of 1989, the All Stars had begun to attract more attention from both the business and the entertainment community. During the early 90s, the performers began to perform in mainstream venues, and the media began to feature articles about the All Stars. Pamela A. Lewis became the producer of the All Stars, and Browneyes, a rap artist who won the grand prize at Town Hall, was featured in the media. She helped to build the network by participating as a co-host and working to bring young people to the All Stars program in her community.

The All Stars participated in some of the work of the Castillo Theatre, such as the rap version of the opera *Carmen*. They also produced a tape entitled "SOLD OUT." In this phase, winners of the national finals came back to the network to help build and lead the program, as Browneyes had done.

As the program developed through the 90s and into the new millennium, the directors assessed the impacts that they were having and moved from a focus on the competition of the talent show to a focus on the development of the performers. A workshop that helped participants work together was added, and the final competitions were discontinued. To support the growth of the program, performing groups were required to have a certain percentage of "novices" in order to participate. The All Stars program as it is currently composed is involved in expansion to a number of new cities, including Philadelphia, Newark, Los Angeles, and Oakland, among others. Former performers who have grown up in the program are involved at all levels of the organization as both volunteers and staff. They continue to bring the program to new generations of young people.

Future Plans: The All Stars Center for Youth Development

The All Stars Project, Inc. is in the process of opening a new Center for Youth Development. This has been a tremendous fundraising effort. This "landmark" center of performance and developmental learning will house a variety of performance spaces and rehearsal studios, classrooms, offices, conference rooms, and a library. The site will bring together a variety of programs for inner-city youth and a consortium of multicultural theatres and artists. In addition, it will provide an international research center for leading developmental psychologists, educators, and business leaders. The hope is to create partnerships between a "new wave" of philanthropists and the people of New York. This building, currently beginning its renovation is located at 543 West 42nd Street. This center holds great promise to facilitate the All Stars Project's goals of expansion and help them to reach many more youth across the city and the nation.

The All Stars Project, Inc. is poised to move forward. It has created a large base of financial support and hopes to develop programs to serve many more young people across the United States.

III. Conceptual Basis of the All Stars Programs

> *Performance is at the centerpiece of all of the All Stars Project's development work. It is our belief that performance is necessary if development is to take place. Performance, if properly used in our lives, helps us to go beyond who we are, and to be more of who we are.*
>
> —All Stars Project Philosophy

The stated purpose of the All Stars Project is threefold:

1. Through participation in performance, the All Stars Project helps participants to grow and develop.
2. The All Stars Project builds community by bringing diverse people together.
3. The All Stars Project liberates performance from the confines of the theatre.

These purposes are met through a variety of means and programs.

Theoretical Support for ASTSN/DSY

> *Theory and practice are for us an indivisible unity with practice leading the way.*
>
> —Newman, 1994, p. 229

The central underlying theory that permeates the programs of All Stars Project, Inc. is that of developmentalism. Every aspect of the program in some way addresses issues of development. There are several contiguous theories that guide and/or inspire the developing program as well, including social therapy, activity theory, identity play, and performance theory.

The overarching goal of ASTSN/DSY is to create environments where people are supported to create "something new." Newman describes this environment as novel in many respects:

> *We're teaching people…to create new environments where they can create not just solutions to problems, or even new emotions, but a new emotionality and a new psychology. We have discovered that this activity is both positive and curative.*

Gabrielle Kurlander concurs:

> *I think that we're very much, as Fred Newman wrote many years ago, guided by the practice of method. We are an activity-based, creative community. It is not as if the theory came first and then it was applied. But our creativity is rather "tool and result." If anything, I don't know if we believe in first, if there's even a first. We do some things and they reveal some things to us that we can say about them and could write about them and we could observe about them. I think that obviously Fred Newman is a*

> *major theoretician whose intellectual work has been a huge influence along with Dr. Holzman. He's been in turn influenced by Lev Vygotsky, by Karl Marx, and by a number of different philosophers. I think our work has been influenced by Dr. Edmund Gordon's work, by Dr. Anthony Appiah's work, and by Dr. Kenneth Gergen as well.*

Activity Theory

ASTSN/DSY projects have a strong connection to the theories of Lev Vygotsky. A key concept is Vygotsky's idea of dialectical unity. His ideas of activity, learning, and development are inseparably intertwined and emergent, not linear, temporal, or causal. As Holzman (1987) explains:

> *We aren't isolated individuals separate from each other; we're not even separate from our environment...Instead of two separate entities...there is but one, the unity 'persons-environment.' In this unity, the relationship between persons and environment is complex and dialectical: environment 'determines' us and yet we can change it completely (changing ourselves in the process, since the 'it'—the unit of 'persons-environment'—includes us, the changers).*

The All Stars program is based on the understanding that each participant has the capacity to create and transform cultural, community, and personal life. Vygotsky (1978) asserts that the natural environment in which children learn is one where learning leads development—that is, an environment where children are supported to do what they do not know how to do, or to use his term, "a zone of proximal development" (p. 232). This zone of proximal development (ZPD) is described by Lois Holzman (1997) as "the ever emergent and continuously changing 'distance' between being and becoming" (p. 88). Further, Holzman notes a feature of the ZPD:" [in environments] where learning and development are jointly created by people's activity, what happens is that we do things that we don't yet know how to do, we go beyond ourselves" (p. 88). Vygotsky (1978) claims that "children learn and develop by 'performing a head taller that they are'" (p 102).This is one central pillar in the performatory approach to human development that is taken by ASTSN/DSY programs.

Activity theorists claim that "activity theory is deeply and internally connected to and mediated by the process of human activity" (Margolis, 1996, p. 119). Leontiev has demonstrated the important role that object-related activity plays in understanding the development of behavior and thinking. Self regulation is developed and realized through the activity process. Central to this theory is the idea that the object of the activity appears twice: "first, as an object that guides and transforms human activity directly, and second as an internalized image or concept, as a product of mental reflection which appears as a result of a person's activity"(p. 119). This theory describes the process that ASTSN/DSY has developed to create a laboratory in which young people can participate in directly guided activity.

> *I think that we are activity theorists, creative people. Our programs break with certain modernist concepts of identity, of truth with a capital 'T.' There are a number of different ways to view human beings and all of our work is informed by that. We see people as having infinite capacity to create and therefore to develop. We see people as needing to be active participants in their own development and learning. And learning and development go together. We don't believe that cognition and knowledge comes first or it is a necessary prerequisite for learning. In fact, quite the contrary, we think that learning is a creative activity and that understanding comes from that* (G. Kurlander).

Performance and Identity Play

Identity play/performing is also central to the All Stars goal of preventing violence in the participants' communities. In the All Stars programs, large groups of young people work together in a production performance and perform music, dance, raps and skits. These performances "allow young people to learn better how the world works as they create new and more worldly performances of themselves" (L. Fulani).

Equally important are the cultural and political underpinnings of the program. Lenora Fulani talks about the sense of cultural nationalism that is a dominant tradition in the African American community, described as "a set of postures, attitudes, and beliefs (e.g. the way to positively change institutions is to increase Black presence in them) as well as language, gestures, dress, and forms of music that have become identified in the community as 'behaving Black.'" She goes on to explain that parents "implicitly and explicitly teach their children this nationalistic model as 'the way to be' in the world" (Fulani, in press). The narrowness of this model of "worldliness," she feels, is extremely limiting to young peoples' ability to make it in the broader society.

Dr. Kwame Anthony Appiah has introduced the idea of identity play, that is, encouraging nonhegemonic groups to move away from rigidly defined identities spawned by the views of the hegemonic society. He challenges us to "move on to a life where we are not so narrowly defined, by 'who we are 'and 'who we are not'":

> Every human identity is constructed, historical; everyone has their share of false presuppositions, of the errors and inaccuracies that courtesy calls "myth," religion "heresy," and science "magic." Invented histories, invented biologies, invented cultural affinities come with every identity; each is a kind of role that has to be

> scripted, structured by conventions of narrative to which the world never quite manages to conform....
>
> We would need to show not that race and national history are falsehoods, but they are useless falsehoods at best or—at worst—dangerous ones: that another set of stories will build us identities through which we can make more productive alliances (Appiah, 1995, p. 174)

Fulani clearly understands and acts upon the debilitating ways in which racialism prescribes identities to young African American youth. Tremendous energy is released when participants "suddenly become aware of an identity that they have been suffering from for a long time without knowing" (Appiah, p. 176). When she describes the All Stars as *not* an "entitlement program," she clearly distances herself from programs and organizations that spring from a racialist consciousness.

Political Activism

Although political activism is not an explicit part of the All Stars and the DSY curriculum, it is an outcome of the programs. Young people who are empowered to get what they want are also likely to fight for what they think is right. The All Stars Project was created as a response to a lack of equitable distribution of opportunity for young people to develop and become contributing members of the community. This underlying concern with social justice provides the foundation upon which these programs have been constructed. Young people who come to this program are gratified to hear someone who "tells it like it is," and recognizes and dignifies the enormity of the struggle that many of the participants are facing.

Participants learn about political activism through first-hand experience. ASTSN/DSY schedules media events that publicize the programs and help them grow and develop. Young people bring their developed skills to these events to speak in front of cameras, to read their poems, or to rally for issues that effect youth, especially those directly linked to supplementary education.

The Performance Approach in Perspective

The All Stars Project is centrally committed to development. It is not successful because it addresses the particular needs of minority youth; ASTSN/DSY is successful because it addresses *human* developmental and communitarian needs. In ASTSN, young people are charged to build their own cultural organization, with adults and more competent peers leading the ZPD. This is illustrated by Fulani's statement: "Participating in the All Stars requires that students perform as builders and givers. In doing so, they discover that they can become 'other than who they are.' This is a cultural activity which, as far as anyone knows, is unique to human beings: the self-conscious shaping (and reshaping) of the environments that shape (and reshape) human nature" (Fulani, in press).

While many of the stated goals of ASTSN / DSY would seem to be also those of the schools which the participants attend, that is not so. In many of these students' educational environments, the fundamental laws of development are consistently broken, making these schools antidevelopmental environments. In contrast, ASTSN / DSY programs are characterized by original and effective guiding principles of human development and sane, decent, informed, open ideas and practices concerning race and class. In the process of embodying these ideas in a developmental community, the programs are themselves constantly developing, with their practitioners keeping their eyes firmly on the development of young people as their goal. The president of the All Stars Project has quite succinctly described the integration of these theories with each other and with ASTSN / DSY practice:

> *I don't think that the theory is put in practice. I would say that the theory arose from the practice and then fed back into the practice. It's worked to say to young people, "You have these identities of who you are; some are good, some are bad, but they're all identities. And you can be other than that." You can create, some people would say, not identities but new performances of yourself, infinite numbers of them. We find out that people love this and they respond to this. They go, "Oh, when could I start?" They love to perform. In a way, it's kind of a simple idea. It's like—both sophisticated but also very simple* (G. Kurlander).

In this report we will be describing, in detail, the ways in which ASTSN / DSY programs unfold and illustrate how practice and theory become reality.

IV. Personnel: Who Serves and Who Is Served?

The question of who serves and who is served in ASTSN/DSY is not simply answered. While the goal of the programs is the development of young people, benefits accrue to those who are deliverers of services as well as to those who are the designated beneficiaries, creating a symbiotic relationship between the giver and the receiver. One adult volunteer and donor expressed it this way:

> *I've received more from the All Stars than I could ever give. In 1997 I was on my way to my first host training session, thinking hard about the fact that for many of the young people, I would be the first nonminority adult they had ever worked with who was not an authority figure—something I had been struck by when one of the All Stars staff pointed it out beforehand. I realized, sadly, the inverse of that statement was applicable to me, at least over the past ten years. When was the last time I had spoken to an inner-city kid? It was depressing, humbling, and a bit disconcerting— until I found that the kids there were incredibly open and receptive. We ended up having a great discussion...I realized that I learned much more from them than they learned from me.*

In addition to this symbiosis between giver and receiver, there is a cyclic "reinitiation" of development for all participants. Newman (1994) describes this phenomenon in relation to patients in social therapy, but it applies equally well to participants in the All Stars. As they continue to grow, they have more to give to the development of the All Stars, which is thereby increasingly able to help them to develop further, to reinitiate their development. ASTSN/DSY applies the principle of reinitiation of development to create an organization that serves the individual participants on many levels, regardless of whether they are the intended recipients of services. With that in mind, we will discuss five major groups of participants in ASTSN/DSY programs: ASTSN/DSY participants, staff, volunteers, Program Associates, and donors.

Who Are the Youth Participants?

Who are the participants in the All Stars Talent Show Network and the Developmental School for Youth? Records were not kept for the first decade of ASTSN; however, since 1993 6,800 young people from ages 5 to 25 have participated as performers in talent show auditions, workshops, or shows. In addition, over 250 young people per year participate as production crew members or volunteers.

Where do these young people come from? They come from all five boroughs of the city to present the three to five shows per year that are currently produced. The performers are almost entirely young people of color who come from families who struggle economically. ASTSN has a large representation from the various housing projects that dot the city, where many of the dance groups originated. The shows are put on in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Harlem and in a variety of other communities around the city. Recruited through leafleting on the streets of these neighborhoods as well as outreach in some of the schools, they represent a group of young people for whom few enrichment experiences are offered. What distinguishes them from other performing arts youth programs is that they are not "focused on the 'talented 2 percent,' but rather on the 'bottom 98 percent'—the tens of thousands of ordinary kids from devastated neighborhoods who don't make it into special programs and who the schools, by and large, give up on."

The Development School for Youth has graduated 285 young people since 1997, and has a current enrollment of 58 students. These students are recruited from many of the lowest-performing schools in the City of New York, including many in Manhattan as well as the outlying boroughs. The participants are overwhelmingly students of color from devastated neighborhoods who have the inner motivation to pursue participation in the DSY. These students come largely from single-parent homes with low financial resources. Despite their circumstances, these are young people with healthy mentalities and strong commitments to succeed. The DSY offers these ambitious young people the "opportunity of a lifetime," a path towards integration into the world of financial and political power.

Who Are the Staff?

The All Stars staff consists of 25 salaried employees and an uncounted number of volunteers who also take heavy leadership responsibility within the organization. The staff is a diverse group, in terms of both age and ethnicity. The organization has augmented its staff through the development of volunteers. The newest staff members were college interns who then became permanent staff. All the components of the All Stars Project draw volunteers from disparate parts of the New York community. The mix creates a thoughtful, caring, and committed group of people with high degrees of performance capabilities.

The All Stars Project, Inc. has seven major divisions:

ASTSN
DSY
Castillo Theatre
Talented Volunteers
Development (fundraising)
Finance
Public Relations

The four divisions in the first column constitute the youth programs; the three divisions in the second column constitute the organizational structure that is necessary to support these programs.

Organizational Leadership and Support

The All Stars Project has both paid and volunteer staff. The governance structure is as follows:

President—Gabrielle Kurlander
Vice President—Bonny Gildin
Assistant to the President—Lisa Linnen

The Board of Directors consists of a chairperson and 20 members, half of whom come from the business world; the other half are people who have had a long affiliation with the program. Their responsibilities include outreach, fundraising, public relations, and interaction with youth participants, as well as providing on-the-ground advice on running a successful corporation. Many take an active part in developing programs as well.

The Development Office is primarily concerned with promoting institutional growth and providing a solid foundation for that growth through the cultivation of sources of support. Development Office personnel include—

Director of Development—Chris Street
Senior Development Officer—Jeff Aron
Director of Annual Giving—Christina DiChiara
Development Officer—Jason Wu
Development Associate—Nancy Green

The Finance Office oversees the financial transactions of all the offices and programs. Finance Office personnel include—

Chief Operating Officer—Jeannine Hahn
Office and Finance Manager—Cynthia Carpathios
Bookkeeper—Anne Suddaby
Assistant Office Managers—Joanne Sullivan, Ken Hughes

The Office of Public Relations coordinates the All Stars Project's work with the media. The Director of Public Relations, Roger Grunwald, works with all of the programs and offices in a facilitative role.

In addition, the Technical Director for the Castillo Theatre and the All Stars' Project's Plant Manager, Joe Spirito, keeps the technology of the organization running. Also providing service to the programs is the Director of Volunteer and Intern Programs, who coordinates the many volunteers for the various activities that support the All Stars Project.

Youth Programs

The youth programs, the largest component of the All Stars Project, integrate a tremendous number of volunteers and participants. The Director of Youth Programs, Pamela A. Lewis, oversees both the DSY and the ASTSN, as well as various events of the All Stars Project (e.g. Phat Friends Awards). She works with an Administrative Assistant. The Youth Programs have a large number of staff, both volunteer and salaried.

The *All Stars Talent Show Network* relies heavily on volunteer labor as well as a core paid staff. The ASTSN organizational structure consists of—

National Producer—Pamela A. Lewis
Assistant to the National Producer- Antoine Joyce
National Operations Manager- Pamela Hafer
Producer- Vision T. Great
Director of New Jersey All Stars Programs (ASTSN and DSY)- Gloria Strickland
Volunteer Coordinator- New York All Stars Talent Show, Kathy Fiess

The *Development School for Youth* makes good use of its corporate partners, who shoulder a good part of the responsibility for the program. In addition, a strong team works on the logistics of placing over 100 students per year in constructive, paid internships. Because the DSY is a fairly new program, the participants are not yet ripe enough to return to the organization as central leadership. However, they do participate heavily in the logistical support for DSY events. The DSY organizational structure consists of—

Co-directors—Dr. Lenora Fulani, Pamela A. Lewis
Administrative Coordinator—Jill Battalen
Business Professional Volunteers
Assistant Directors
Program Associates
Support network of business professionals

Program Associates come from a variety of backgrounds, from the entertainment industry to the corporate world. They help the program directors to develop and deliver the DSY program. Program Associates make a substantial time commitment to the program (interviewing applicants, helping with resumés, facilitating kids getting to workshops) as well as participate in an ongoing training program led by Lenora Fulani and Pamela A. Lewis. Some Program Associates take on additional responsibility as Assistant Directors of the DSY program. Currently, there are 12 volunteers serving as Program Associates. Their responsibilities for program delivery include—

Attending orientation and graduation ceremonies
Attending midterm and final debriefings with the program directors

Acting as co-facilitators for workshops, providing continuity for students
Reviewing student resumés
Conducting mock interviews

Their administrative responsibilities include—

Interviewing prospective DSY candidates
Outreach to colleagues for internships and recruiting new Program Associates
Securing at least two summer internships

In addition, Program Associates make personal contributions of $1,000 to the program. They also take on a high degree of responsibility for fundraising, for development of the curriculum, and for program delivery.

The DSY is also supported by a group of business professionals who lead some of the DSY workshops and provide students with an opportunity to participate in mock interviews in the corporate setting. While not making the extensive time commitment of a Program Associate, they are an integral part of the delivery of the DSY program.

The *Talented Volunteers* program represents a broad cross-section of the population of New York City. Volunteers present a broad range in age (from 15 to 81), ethnicity and color, and background (from corporate executives to young people who want to help out a program that has given them so much). All Stars youth leader Nichelle "Browneyes" Brown is a volunteer who came to the All Stars as a rapper and has continued to work, bringing the program to her own neighborhood. She received the Mayor's Silver Apple Award at City Hall for her volunteer efforts with the All Stars. Her daughter now performs in the All Stars talent shows. Another honored volunteer, Denise Burnett, a native of East New York who works as a secretary in midtown, was cited for her role in helping found the All Stars and for her dedicated fundraising for the program through participation as a Dialer for Youth Development. Program Associates such as Fran Miller and Danita Branam, who have high-powered positions within the corporate sector, contribute to the All Stars both financially and with their time and expertise. Gabrielle Kurlander talks about why people volunteer with the All Stars:

> *I think you grow from doing hard things. I think it enriches people's lives. So it's both their generosity and altruism but it's also something that they are being nourished by.*

The *Castillo Theatre* is a creative enterprise that involves All Stars participants and others in the production of theatre pieces. It has a full-time Managing Director as well as a large number of volunteers who participate at every level. The Castillo Theatre is New York's community theatre; trained actors perform next to people who have never performed before. Young people work both as performers and as support staff alongside seasoned veterans and adult amateurs. The Castillo Theatre collaborates often with ASTSN performers to create productions that accurately integrate the youth cultures of the inner city of New York. Volunteers and staff from any of the programs that make up the All Stars Project may turn up as volunteers for any given theatrical production.

Who Are the Leaders of the All Stars Project, Inc?

Dr. Lenora Fulani, a founder of the All Stars Project, is currently Director of the DSY. She received her doctorate in developmental psychology from the Graduate Center of CUNY. She is a nationally recognized advocate for supplementary education and for the performatory approach to youth development. She is known for two runs for the U.S. Presidency in 1988 and 1992. Her community-building model, which brings together affluent professionals with inner-city youth, is at the heart of the All Stars. Brought up in Chester, Pennsylvania, she watched her nieces and nephews become victims of violence in the 1980s and came to realize that her own upward mobility did not penetrate to the next generation. The All Stars was born out of her desire to help young people conquer the constraints of poverty and ignorance.

Pamela A. Lewis is currently the Director of Youth Programs for the All Stars Project. She received a B.A. in theatre from the University of Kansas. After meeting Dr. Fulani through political activity, she began performing in political theatre and was involved in the first years of the Castillo Theatre and the All Stars. She then became a producer for the All Stars in 1989 and worked with Dr. Fulani to build the program.

Dr. Fred Newman, the resident philosopher of the organization, is a theorist and practitioner of social therapy. He is a co-founder of the All Stars Project as well as the East Side Institute for Short Term Psychotherapy. In addition, Dr. Newman is a playwright and the artistic director of the Castillo Theatre. He received his doctorate in the philosophy of science from Stanford University in 1963. After teaching for 6 years, he devoted himself to community organizing, and the outcome has been the programs we are assessing in this report. He has lectured and given workshops both in the U.S. and abroad as well as authored many books, including *The Myth of Psychology* (Castillo International, 1991), *Performance of a Lifetime: A Practical-Philosophical Guide to the Joyous Life* (Castillo International, 1996), and *Let's Develop! A Guide to Continuous Personal Growth* (Castillo International, 1994). He has written three books with Dr. Lois Holzman: *Lev Vygotsky: Revolutionary Scientist* (Routledge, 1993), *Unscientific Psychology: A Cultural-Performatory Approach to Understanding Human Life* (Praeger, 1996), and *The End of Knowing: A New Developmental Way of Learning* (Routledge, 1997).

Gabrielle Kurlander came to New York to pursue an acting career. Her first contact with the All Stars was through her involvement with the East Side Institute. She then started to volunteer for the Castillo Theatre and to perform in their productions. After working for Dr. Fulani during her presidential campaign in 1988, she was hired as the administrator of the Castillo Theatre, and then as the President of what was then called the Community Literacy Research Project. Ms. Kurlander explained how she became the President of the All Stars Project:

> *In some sense, we are a community that develops people and their leadership capacity. So I think Fred and Lenora felt that I had some capacities, so they suggested it to the Board, and the Board decided to make me President of the All Stars Project, kind of in a way to see what I could do with it, because it wasn't clear where we could go at that point. We didn't really have a fixed idea. It more was our methodology, which is that we create things and then we come to see what they are, rather than know what they are first. So, I became the first person hired.... We had about a $200,000 budget then.*

Who Are the Donors?

Donors are an important and active component of ASTSN/DSY. They contribute to the programs both financially and by volunteering in a variety of vital ways. Two important groupings of donors are the President's Committee and the Chairman's Club.

The President's Committee is composed of all contributors giving $1,000 or more in a year. The Chairman's Club is composed of those who give $5,000 or more and take a step further in their support of the organization. Many of these members take on a large degree of responsibility for ensuring the long-term financial stability and health of the organization.

Donors to the All Stars are hugely diverse, from celebrity supporters to corporate executives. What they have in common is the wish to be involved in solving some of the seemingly intractable problems that limit opportunities for inner-city youth. As Gabrielle Kurlander explained:

> *They feel like they want to do something—at a basic level. They've come to us because they like to do something for young people who don't have as much as they think they should have and want to help them have more in their lives. They come to identify with our growth and where we're going and they want to help us to grow. And they know that that costs more money. So you're talking about people who spend a great deal of money on their vacations, on their home, on their gifts to their family, on all kinds of*

> *things because they are fairly wealthy Americans, and so they spend a great deal of money on their philanthropy also. I think it is very impressive that they've made the All Stars a part of their life.*

Donors have reacted positively to the grassroots aspect of the All Stars Project. They cite the "intimacy of involvement" that they feel as an All Stars donor. As one donor commented:

> *The program is locally based so you can actually see the impact of your work and resources. You can touch it. It's not like sending off a check to a large organization. It's a real avenue to get involved.*

Many also take on extra responsibility for projects such as raising money for the Young Leaders for Change campaign, building the Back to School program that introduces "friends of friends" to the All Stars, and sponsoring a variety of special events and projects that further the work of the All Stars Project. All Stars donors are more than simply a source of funding for the programs, since they participate in the program in vital ways on a variety of levels. Gabrielle Kurlander underlined the donors' comments, explaining how the organization views the role of donors:

> *We are really demanding of the donors. We say to them, look the kids are having new experiences, going places where they've never gone before, doing things they've never done, and you need to also. And what does that look like? Well, you're going to go to BedStuy to a show. You're going talk to a young person you've never talked to. Or even without interacting with the kids, you're going to ask some of your friends for money when you don't like to do that. But the kids do things they don't like to do also. They're participants —we challenge them to grow and to develop. We demand that of them.*

V. All Stars Talent Show Network

The All Stars Project, Inc. is the umbrella under which both ASTSN and DSY operate. While separate in terms of staff and resources, these programs often serve overlapping participants. Though sharing similar goals and philosophies, they vary in strategies and scope. ASTSN will be described in detail in this section; DSY will be described in the next section. Both descriptions will address the following points:

- Schedule
- Procedures observed
- Nature and quality of participation
- Reactions of participants
- Observer impressions

The qualitative data from which these descriptions were developed included interviews with youth participants, volunteers, and staff; focus groups with short-term volunteers, long-term volunteers, current and past participants, and adult volunteers; extensive interviews with the directors of the various programs and their staff; and fieldnotes from the many workshops and events that the evaluators attended.

The All Stars Project Inc. is a youth development project that uses preparatory, formal, and supportive performance as an instrument for the guidance and socialization of inner-city youth. At the center of this model is the All Stars Talent Show Network (ASTSN), where each participant is a star and a wide range of human talents and abilities are respected. ASTSN offers disadvantaged youth ages 5 to 25 the opportunity to produce and perform in a talent show where "everyone wins." The program has two major goals: (1) to facilitate the development of young people by creating a stage where they can successfully present themselves and (2) to provide a learning environment where young people can deliberately influence their own emotional, social, and cultural development.

To this end, ASTSN offers ordinary youth from impoverished neighborhoods opportunities to explore alternative ways of redefining themselves and creating new personal presentations of self. All the young people participate in some aspect of the following components:

- Street Outreach
- Talent Show Audition
- Development Workshop
- Talent Show
- Young Leaders for Change

These activities are closely aligned with the goals and underlying theories that guide the program. ASTSN is guided by performative theory, which is based on the premise that human life is a performance. Through performing, participants can learn simultaneously to perform both as who they are and as who they are becoming. The guiding theory of the program is "simple" as one of the staff members who was once a participant succinctly explains:

> *Everybody performs every single day of their life. I can't get no more simple than that!*

In an interview with the president of the All Stars Project, Gabrielle Kurlander explained the program's theories as follows:

> *We help people to play and to create just like little children create. We think performance is an adult form of play. And that's what the Talent Show Network is. It is performatory play. Performing ahead of yourself.*

The ASTSN was created to help young people reach their potential by focusing on the space between who they are and who they are becoming (see Section III. Conceptual Basis of the All Stars Programs for a detailed explanation of activity theory and performance theory).

Schedule

All Stars talent shows are organized annually throughout the five boroughs of New York City (Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Staten Island) with the goal of targeting schools located in poor neighborhoods. The program has recently expanded to Newark, Philadelphia, and Oakland. With leadership and inspiration from the New York ASTSN, these cities are replicating the program in their communities. Similarly to New York, these programs are targeting children and youth from poor neighborhoods and teaching them to create new identities. ASTSN has also traveled internationally to Chile and Canada and recently to Amsterdam to teach the performative and community-building models. It is important to note that this evaluation report focuses only on the New York ASTSN.

The New York ASTSN produces approximately 12 large productions per year. Activities run from the beginning of February to the end of November. Once a full cycle has been completed another one begins in a different community. The ASTSN cycle includes all the activities that go into the preparation and presentation of the talent shows. These activities can be divided into the following phases:

- Phase 1: Street Outreach
- Phase 2: Talent Show Audition
- Phase 3: Development Workshop
- Phase 4: Talent Show

Procedures Observed

The following description is based mainly on extensive observations of ASTSN at work, supplemented by material from interviews and focus groups. Italic type is used to indicate excerpts from the data.

Phase 1: Street Outreach

The process of finding a venue begins with youth leaders and the producer selecting several potential high schools that have auditoriums with a capacity of 700 or more. The youth leaders are young participants who have been volunteering in the program for several years and who want to give back some of the benefits they have received through the program. Some of the youth leaders have also been recognized as Young Leaders for Change, an honor bestowed on young participants who have demonstrated leadership and outstanding volunteerism qualities. The young leaders also recruit and mentor younger peers.

The All Stars Assistant National Producer then begins asking the principals of the selected high schools to host the audition, the workshop, and the show in their school. This process is frequently very difficult, since school principals often do not see the value of talent shows and are especially sensitive to the All Stars ground rule of no censorship.

When a school has been found, the process of publicity and recruitment begins. Flyers are printed and the All Stars staff and volunteer participants visit the community to do "street outreach" and promote the audition for the show. They visit schools, community centers, churches, and housing projects, approaching people and inviting them to be part of a talent show that is run by young people, that requires no prior experience, and that can teach them new skills. They disseminate flyers and volunteer applications to recruit young and adult participants as performers on and off the stage. Luis, who's been volunteering for a year, explains how he approaches young people in the street.

> *You have to give the person that's walking towards you a little signal such as a hand wave to let them know that you want to tell them something and then you approach them. This helps and it's better than jumping out of nowhere and saying, "Hi, I'm Luis, I'm with the All Stars Talent Show Network and there's an audition in your community."*

The participants are trained by both youth leaders and adults to develop their abilities so that they can meet the responsibilities that producing the show entails.

Phase 2: Talent Show Audition

What does a talent show audition look like?

> *DeWitt Clinton High School was easily recognized because of the red tent in front of the school with large letters that said "All Stars Talent Show Network." A green lawn and trees lined the sidewalk that surrounds the imposing three-story building. There are ASTSN staff members (both youth and adults) wearing red vests guiding all the people. There are a lot of young people of color standing in line, talking and laughing. As I approached the tent, a friendly young volunteer, about 17 years old, welcomed me and asked me if I was performing or part of the audience.*

In Phase 2, all the aspiring performers audition successfully. For the ASTSN staff and volunteers, the audition is an all-day event that generally begins at 7:00 AM and ends at 6:00 PM. The production staff arrives first to unload the equipment, set up, and assign various roles to the volunteers. By 10:00 AM, two to three hundred children and youth ages 5 to 25 have flocked to the school to audition.

> *Step 1: When participants arrived at the front of the school, they were asked if they were there to perform or to be part of the audience. If they were performers, they then specified if they were novice or alumni. The alumni were directed to one line, the novice performers to another one, and the audience to another.*

Long lines of performers waited excitedly for their turn to enter the auditorium. Enthusiastic All Stars staff members wearing scarlet vests guided the participants as soon as they approached the school grounds. Everyone was greeted by friendly and cheerful volunteers who welcomed the participants by saying repeatedly, "Welcome to the All Stars. We are glad that you are here."

> *Step 2: Both alumni and novice participants converged at the box office, where they paid a $5.00 registration fee. Then participants completed a "Registration Form" that required details about the participant's performance (name of act, type of act, number of people in the group, information about the group manager, contact information for the performers, and names of any organizations the participants are/were involved in).*

While exceptions are made for those participants who cannot afford to pay the $5 fee, it is usually not a problem. Pamela A. Lewis, the Director of Youth Programs, explained that for many of the participants paying the registration fee is considered "an investment":

> *Compared to the $25 fee that other talent shows usually charge, our $5 fee is very small. But, it usually does not come up. They say, "Yes, I want to be here. I want to make an investment."...We don't turn anyone away.*

> *Step 3: Once participants have paid, they pass through one last registration table where ASTSN staff reviewed the registration forms to ensure that all of the pertinent information had been provided. Last, participants were assigned an identification number on a sticker (e.g. 15, 24) that was going to be used as their auditioning number when they were called to the stage.*
>
> *Step 4: When participants completed the registration process, ASTSN volunteers standing at the doors of the auditorium greeted them and then ushered them to their seats. All of the performers sat at the front left-hand side of the stage and the audience sat in the center towards the back of the auditorium. There were about 70 performers waiting to audition.*

In the auditorium, young people are handling all aspects of the show's process from conception to execution. They are involved as ushers, greeters, timekeepers, and as part of the security and cleanup staff. Participants are also given the opportunity to be responsible for the lights, music, sound, ticket window, registration, or loading in and out the equipment for the show. Once ushers have guided all the performers and audience members to the auditorium, the emcee and co-emcee, Antoine Joyce and Wil Farris, both enthusiastic African American young men, welcome the performers and introduce the All Stars staff. The emcees take turns giving advice to the performers and explaining the rules of the All Stars: "Be professional and keep going if you forget the words to your song." The other adds, "Also no one gets booed. No booing or disrespectful behavior is allowed. Disrespecting the staff is not allowed. No fights, or you will be immediately disqualified. " Following this somewhat serious part of the program, a lively All Stars video is shown to the participants to provide background information about the project, its goals, and the theory upon which it is based.

> *Step 5: Before the acts were called to the stage, ASTSN staff standing in the aisles called performers in numerical order and briefed them about the stage procedures. Then the emcee called the acts to the stage by their numbers and presented them using their acting name and category (e.g.,"Mahogany in the dancing category"). Each participant has only 2 minutes to perform.*

The performers stand at the center of the stage, some relaxed and radiant with self-confidence and others diffident and uncomfortable. The emcees inform the audience that their performance "is to show their support for all of the participants by clapping."

> *Step 6: Once the performers were finished, the emcee asked the audience to applaud and congratulate them. Performers walked off to the right of the stage and were greeted by ASTSN staff who congratulated them again and gave them a flyer with instructions for the upcoming workshop.*

After each act has concluded the two-minute audition, members of the audience scream together in a cacophony, "Congratulations!" The participants exit the stage and are praised by cheerful staff, "Congratulations you made it!" They hand out a flyer to each performer with clear instructions informing them that they are required to return the following Saturday to participate in an All Stars Development Workshop to guarantee their participation in the talent show. Most of the performers seem thrilled when they are congratulated, since they are not aware that it is the All Stars policy that every young person who "tries out" and attends a subsequent workshop is eligible to perform in the talent show.

The audience is a critical part of the audition. At the beginning, the audience was cheerful but not overly excited. They applauded for each act and congratulated all the performers as they were instructed. However, as the afternoon progressed, the screaming and applauding became much louder. By the end of the audition, the large auditorium had reached its full capacity.

Following the audition, several volunteers were interviewed. They were asked to share how and why they got involved with ASTSN. Alicia, a 16-year-old volunteer usher, explained that she heard about ASTSN in her building, located just a couple of blocks from the audition. Alicia said an ASTSN staff member approached her with a flyer about the talent show audition and asked her if she liked to sing or dance. The ASTSN staff gave her details about the audition and told Alicia that she did not have to perform on the stage if she did not want to; instead she could "perform off the stage as an usher." Alicia agreed to perform as an usher and signed up immediately. Alicia also recruited a girlfriend to volunteer with her. Both adolescents attended a training meeting in preparation for the audition. At the meeting, they learned how to approach and welcome the participants. Alicia and her friend shared that although the Bronx audition was their first time being involved with ASTSN, they wanted to volunteer again. When asked why, they simply said, "It's better than hanging out in the streets on Saturday and not doing anything."

An adult African American volunteer, Dalai, explained that she was "recruited" to volunteer for the audition through the Mayor's Action Volunteer Committee. She received a telephone call from an ASTSN member asking her if she would be interested in volunteering at the audition. Dalia said that she agreed to volunteer because she thought ASTSN "sounded like a really good program for kids." Dalia was responsible for congratulating the participants immediately following their auditions.

Valerie, an African American woman in her late 40s who volunteered at the registration table became involved with ASTSN through her company. Valerie said that she was an employee of Booz Allen Hamilton, Inc., a company that is "very involved in community relations." She heard about ASTSN through her boss, "a major contributor to the ASTSN." Valerie also shared that "we are trying to start an effort in Philly, so we also want to make our own observations." She said that she was at the audition "to learn about the process and to learn from the success of the NY program." According to Valerie, there were 12 other volunteers from Booz Allen Hamilton on the day of the audition. She mentioned that she had also brought her sixteen-year-old daughter and her daughter's friend to volunteer. Valerie and the other volunteers attended a series of meetings for two months to prepare for the audition. When asked what she thought of the audition, Valerie answered, "It's a well run and **very** organized operation."

Phase 3: Development Workshop

In the development workshops, the young people learn a variety of skills, including—

- improvisation
- working cooperatively in a group
- performance
- supporting other performers
- developmental theory

Young people who participate are required to bring a poem that they have written. Everyone is expected to arrive to the workshop on time, or they are disqualified from the talent show. The youth leaders and adult volunteers lead the workshops. At the workshop, the young people work together to create skits and poems about issues that are important to them. The workshop group's skits are videotaped and aired the day of the talent show.

All participants work in groups with other youth they are meeting for the first time. The workshops are intended to discourage the competitive aspects of a typical talent show and foster mutual respect. As one long time staff member describes it:

> *They learn to respect each other and help each other. We try to break down the competition spirit by having them work in groups. We put the kids in different groups with other youth that they don't know. They are asked to work together and write and perform a poem. We tell them not to worry about the competition. So the kids learn to work with kids they have never met in their life!*

In addition, participants learn improvisational skills and are introduced to the program's underlying theory of performance. They are taught that they are performing every minute of their lives and that everything they do is a performance. For instance, participants are told that they are performing starting from the minute they wake up in the morning and decide which "costume" to wear.

Phase 4: Talent Show

> *On a beautiful sunny spring morning, many young people are eagerly walking to the school's entrance. One parent is walking with a small Latino girl about 5 years old, carrying a colorful costume. Outside the school, the young performers are milling all over, lined up behind a red tent with a large sign announcing, "All Stars Talent Show Network." Groups are practicing in front of the school, on the steps, in the corners. Some groups include a range of different ages; others are all young or all older. There are 4 boys of about 8 years in red, white, and blue "durags." Older kids are directing the younger ones through their steps, correcting, and giving support. At times, the older kids are very strict with the younger ones, "You don't want to get in trouble." There is a definite sense of purpose—no one is fooling around.*

ASTSN staff and volunteers arrive at the school as early as 6:00 AM to set up before the performers arrive. By 11:00 AM there are about 100 volunteers in the auditorium and the surrounding areas. They are highly organized, heterogeneous in every way: age, gender, and ethnicity. They have leadership roles in every task, from checking in the performing groups, to directing the human traffic, to testing and running the sound equipment. They know what they need to do. They are everywhere in their red vests.

> *When the performers arrive, they sign in and do a sound check. Each act gets a chance to run through their performance on stage and test their music. Sometimes the emcee stops them to give them some pointers on how to use the microphone. Groups work on their stage placement. The music volume is at an incredibly high level. Groups move on and off the stage with guidance from the emcee. All the performers are treated with professional respect, regardless of age. The seats in the auditorium are numbered so the acts sit awaiting their turns. All the acts sit in the order they will perform.*
>
> *Excitement runs high. One group of girls, about 10 years old, were getting ready to go onstage, "Man, you not nervous anymore?" The other replies, "No!"*
>
> *The performers come in all shapes and sizes. One young man must be about 7 feet tall with long braids. A little girl, perhaps 4 years old, won't give up the microphone when her sound check is finished. She keeps dancing as the young people in charge confer about how to handle this situation.*

> *This is definitely a family affair, as some of the group managers are mothers, some older brothers. The little brothers and sisters are running around. Some fathers are watching over their children. In the ladies room, the mothers are getting their girls dressed and made-up, doing their hair, saying, "Never again. I am never doing one of these talent shows again! She has been driving me crazy all week!"*
>
> *Most striking are the colorful and elaborate costumes of the dance groups, representing different themes. One group of girls are dressed in a costume with cow prints and tall cowboy hats. Many have shiny satin and sequin costumes. Two Latina sisters, 7 and 9, wearing folkloric costumes with flowers in their hair and dramatic makeup sit with their mother and father awaiting their turn to run through their act.*
>
> *After all the acts have finished the sound check, they are excused until 1:30 pm.*
>
> *Before the performers returned to the auditorium for the briefing, the ASTSN "sound staff" ensured that the "demo" for the beginning was ready to go. They practiced the opening of the show, which was composed of a popular hip-hop song playing in the background while a screen dropped in the middle of the stage. Then, the song stopped playing and a short video about DSY was shown. Then Pam H. called a 20-minute break.*
>
> *The emcee reminded performers of the 1:30 pm briefing meeting, saying, "Be there with costumes on and ready to go!"*

In the performance briefing, the emcees highlight the rules of conduct and the categories and procedures involved in the judging. There are separate categories for vocalist, drama, dance, and rap and in each of these their subcategories for novices and alumni. Participants who win first, second, or third place receive a trophy. Judges also nominate a grand-prize winner who receives a $300 cash award. In this show, which may be typical of most, the performers are made up of 2/3 alumni and 1/3 novices; there are 48 brand-new performers.

> *At 1:35pm the briefing meeting has not started, but people are taking their seats. The emcee gets the groups, now seated in the auditorium according to their performance order, to quiet down. He introduces the producers, the stage managers, and the tech people, and they get a round of applause. (The performers have already gone through training to be an audience, so they are very enthusiastic in their role). He gives a short history of the All Stars, including how they started. He talks about the degree of effort put forth by the volunteers and reminds the performers "This is not a one-person show." Each group is introduced, and then a video that explains the activities and goals of the All Stars is shown. He tells the participants that 125 donors are coming to see their show. He announces that 41 acts out of 50 showed up.*

Unlike conventional talent shows, where competition is celebrated, All Stars Talent Shows promote a supportive and nurturing environment among the participants by discouraging disrespectful behavior, booing, or negative attitudes. Instead, both the audience and the performers are encouraged to applaud and cheer for all of the performers.

> *An important function of the briefing session is to reinforce the lessons of performance and development that the program hopes students will take with them. The emcee explains that the basic rule of the ASTSN is, "We respect you; you respect us. It is a two-way street." The emcee directs a group to pose, bow, and exit, and the audience practices applauding. He has some participants boo and the audience practices drowning them out with louder applause. He underlines that any group or member of a group who shows disrespect or begins fighting will be disqualified and their group will be disqualified with them.*
>
> *He urges them to continue to participate in the All Stars as performers and volunteers and to reach out to their community, saying, "That's your task." A community meeting for parents is announced in which Dr. Fulani will answer questions about parenting and talk about how parents can deal with the challenges of parenting like sex and drugs. The audience is invited to the performances at the Castillo Theatre and urged to "Volunteer!" The presentation ends with the emcee asking the group to give themselves a big round of applause.*
>
> *The volunteer captains are busy instructing their groups how to move the audience to their seats. By 2:30pm, the auditorium starts filling up. Performers start practicing. Some of the young people "performing" as staff are as young as 10 years old.*
>
> *It's 2:50pm—the DJ plays several popular Hip Hop songs while the audience arrives and finds seats. There is a lot of hugging and people greeting each other. Pamela Lewis arrives. The music is playing LOUD! The show is to begin in 10 minutes. The performers are getting excited and there is a sudden rush for seats. The audience has completely filled the auditorium.*

The show begins punctually at 3:00 PM with the showing of an All Stars video that provides information about the community-building model, the performative model, previous talent shows, auditions, and the All Stars staff and founders. In the video, Dr. Lenora Fulani states that the All Stars is a program that "gives young people an opportunity to learn about themselves. It allows young people to create their own roles; to change the script."

> *Pamela Lewis opens the show with an introduction, "ASTSN is all about creating environments where children can develop." Then DJ "Demo" introduced the emcee, Antoine Joyce, who entered the stage very excited. DJ Demo played several popular Hip Hop songs and Antoine danced on the stage. The performers were very supportive of Antoine's performance, as evidenced by their screaming for him "Go Antoine! Go Antoine!" Next, Will, the co-emcee, was introduced and several songs were played to go along with his entrance. The performers were dancing and clapping to the popular beats. The performers really know how to play their part. This place really rocks!*

As the show begins, the first act is called to the stage. They stand in their positions while waiting for the song to begin. As the tape is re-cued, the emcee improvises by interviewing some of the members of the group. They all live in the same housing project. They are called "Infinity" and have performed in the All Stars before. The tape is re-cued and the show continues. While the audience is supportive for all the acts, they go especially wild for the youngest performers, especially those that really show quality. The dance groups show incredible synchronization, obvious hours of practice, and incredible natural talent. The lighting is on a professional level as well as the sound. Everyone gets a HUGE applause.

After a number of groups perform, the emcee calls for a "word from the sponsors." Almost all of the sponsors attending the show are White, in contrast to the rest of the audience, which is 99% minority. One sponsor, from Wall St. talks about how impressed he is by all of the performances. Dr. Fulani also speaks to the audience. She says All Stars makes a statement about how they are a new learning model. "ASTSN is a learning environment where young people work and grow. ASTSN is a community, a place where development takes place."

Participants perform in various categories such as dancing, singing, stepping, rapping, playing an instrument, reading a poem, or martial arts. Performers ages 5 to 12 compete in the "junior category" with other "junior performers." Those who are older compete in the older category. Michelle, a 13-year-old African American girl who lives in the Bronx , performed in the vocal category of the talent show. When asked what it was like to perform in the talent show, Michelle, suggested that singing in the show was an experience of a lifetime, "It was fun, different, and scary to have to perform in front of so many people. It gave me something to do, something to look forward to." She added, "It was also both fun and different to work with so many people I didn't know." Melody, Michelle's older sister, explained that as Michelle's manager, her role is to guide her sister with her costumes. "I like to help her. I tell her what to wear." Michelle shared that she "liked the program because it gives my family the opportunity to see me perform. They can see what I'm into." Michelle won third place in the singing category.

Most of the acts were in the dance category with the exception of three vocal and one step performance. "No Order" was a group of about 15 teenage boys and girls who wore torn clothing and some green costumes resembling hotel uniforms. This group performed various complicated dance routines. The audience screamed loudly during their performance. In the last act, about 20 teenage boys and girls and one small girl about 6 years old did various short dance routines to what appeared to be a skit about the novice and the alumni challenging each other to a dance match. The novice group was dressed in brown-and-white cowboy hats with matching shirts and shorts. At the end of their performance, this group

> *received a standing ovation from the audience. Many of the participants were jumping up and down in their seats from excitement.*

After the three- to four-hour show, judges select winners in the various categories All the participants are called back to the stage to receive their trophies. The cash award winners are announced last. The show ends with all of the participants and staff taking a group photograph on the stage. Parents and friends seem proud and happy. They take turns congratulating their loved ones with flowers and hugs.

> *As a group of very young girls perform on the stage, their mothers creep up the aisles to take photographs. The small children on stage truly move like liquid. The mother who was saying "Never again!" in the ladies room, is going crazy with excitement as her children perform and is beaming with pride when they finish. Clearly, she will be back in spite of the stress and tension involved in preparing for the performance.*
>
> *The faces of the young people glow. They are excited and happy. Some of the groups' choreographies carry a message. Others present a short play that unfolds a lot like a soap opera. It is clear the performances are heavy reflections of popular culture. However, it is different to be a producer of this culture rather than simply a recipient.*

Before the participants and audience exit, Pamela Lewis informs them that there are many volunteer opportunities available in the All Stars and encourages the audience to organize a similar show in their community, "The All Stars is looking for more volunteers. I want you to bring the All Stars to your community!" Volunteer forms are distributed to the audience while Kathy Fiess, the Volunteer Coordinator, asks everyone to see her if they would like to sign up for the next All Stars event.

Censorship is not practiced in the All Stars Talent Shows. Thus participants are allowed to perform in any way they want on the stage. Antoine Joyce, the Assistant National Producer, explains that "It is the program's belief that we'd rather youth express violence on the stage than off the stage." In an interview, he recounts how one young man who was not censored in a previous show ultimately changed his performance.

> *There's this guy, Julio, a Puerto Rican kid who came to the show cursing. We don't censor at the All Stars, so yeah he made the show. He really wanted to see how much he could get away with. [I told him] I'd rather you perform this on the stage than portray the macho kid on the streets. He said he got that from T.V., the cursing. But he decided to change his name and change his whole performance. Now I call him to invite him to the All Stars events. He also calls me when he needs somebody to talk to. He now has a family where he can go. I think I did make a difference in his life and in his decision.*

Young Leaders for Change

Every year, ASTSN staff and volunteers nominate and award ten to eleven young participants with the Young Leaders for Change Award for their leadership and exceptional volunteerism. These young people are identified as leaders because during their participation with the program, they have brought the All Stars developmental and educational approach to their communities. This special event is held in a prestigious institution or club. The reception is a classy affair with plenty of refreshments and exquisite hors d'oeuvres. This ceremony is one of many elegant affairs that help the young participants develop culturally and learn to perform in all types of environments. Attendees include the young participants, their families, All Stars staff, company executives, and sponsors. In the 2002 ceremony, held at the Princeton Club in New York City, ten young people were honored. The following excerpts are examples of the essays the 2002 Leaders for Change recipients read out loud upon receiving their awards:

> *The All Stars has been a major part of my life. It has been a comfort zone for me. I made so many lifelong friends, experienced many amazing performances, and had the opportunity to learn from some very fascinating people. I started out as a performer with the All Stars and the experience was so intense that I wanted everyone to know about this program. So, I became the All Stars flyer girl. I would have Antoine send me a stack of flyers so I could post them in my school and hand them out throughout Staten Island. I began to push Antoine to maybe try to get a show to come to Staten Island because it was the only borough that the All Stars hadn't yet produced a show in. I gave Antoine a list of schools and sure enough the following season the All Stars came to Staten Island!*

Wayne, an African American young man, was also recognized as a Leader for Change because of his dedication to the program:

> *I have been volunteering with the All Stars since the summer of 1999. I got to know the All Stars by entering in the Rap Category at a talent show. Not even a month went by when they asked me to volunteer. I volunteered with the All Stars because I was looking to do something that involved helping people. After all, I had been helped myself. The All Stars has truly helped me grow during a time when I had changed jobs from working with people to keep them off the streets and committing crimes to working in advertising. Working with the All Stars is like getting a second wind while running a long race. When things were getting bad, the smile and joy they have is like a second chance in life. We don't get involved in these programs for money. We join to help people. The volunteers here are not expecting a paycheck but giving it.*

Kim, also an African American honoree, stressed being appreciative to the All Stars for allowing her to express herself, an important freedom for many young people:

> *I just want to thank the All Stars for allowing me to express myself. I didn't expect growth, education, and a family-like environment to come along with the package, but it certainly did. Receiving this award means a lot to me because it shows me that I did something good by exposing a lot of my peers to an environment made for us and that listens to our opinions.*

Nature and Quality of Participation

ASTSN participants come to the program from various ages, lifestyles, and skill levels. Performers and volunteers come from New York City, New Jersey, California, and Pennsylvania. The vast majority of young participants are African American, followed by Latinos, some Southeast Asians and West Indians, and very few Whites. The program staff is a mixture of African American young leaders and some White adults. Many of the staff members and adult volunteers are theater professionals who produce and perform in Broadway and off-Broadway theatrical performances.

In interviews, ASTSN participants were questioned concerning the impact of the program on their development. The majority of the young people reported gaining many different skills from their participation. Dan, a long time volunteer from Trinidad, shared how he uses the All Stars approach when working with young people outside of the All Stars program:

> *I am a Senior Child Care Worker. I run a residential treatment facility, a group home. We have 32 kids. I use the skills that I've learned in the All Stars. I talk to the kids. I use the performing approach I learned in All Stars.*

One long-time volunteer, Alana, an African American adolescent, describes her learning experience while part of the ASTSN production staff:

> *Working on the production staff, I learned a lot about producing a show. I learned about the legwork, the things that performers and the audience don't see. I also learned about budgeting.*

Others learned leadership skills through the different roles they played in the program. Amanda, a very active Youth Leader, shared that through the years that she has been a participant in ASTSN, she has taken on many roles:

> *One of my roles was being a youth director. I love working with the young people, teaching them how to use developmental techniques. My favorite role was one that I shared with my good friend Antoine as a co-emcee. That was such an honor for me. I had wanted to be an emcee since the first day I went to the show.*

Similarly, Lashawn, a youth volunteer, was happy to be given the opportunity to take on many different roles in the All Stars. Her experiences taught her to be less bashful and more sociable:

> *Since high school, All Stars has always been an integral part of my life. As shy and soft-spoken as I can sometimes be, I was jumping at the chance to go to corporate functions, help out with telemarketing, and be a youth host at events.*

For Luis, a young Latino adolescent, participating in street outreach for the ASTSN taught him interpersonal skills:

> *I was involved with going to the streets of Brooklyn. Our job was to tell kids that there was going to be an audition in their community. This taught me a lot on how to approach people when I have something to tell them.*

Some participants credit the ASTSN with helping them transform their lives and build their self-esteem. Nichelle Brown, a volunteer staff, credits the ASTSN for giving her the motivation and confidence she desperately needed when she was a young mother on welfare more than 10 years ago. She first became involved with ASTSN when she performed as the only female rapper. She thanks the All Stars for hiring her as a receptionist—her first job ever. Today, her daughter LaToya, a teenager, considers her mother her best friend. LaToya and her singing group won the grand prize in the 1999 All Stars show. Both mother and daughter volunteer in many of the shows.

Demond, a 25-year-old Young Leader for Change, praises the ASTSN for helping him turn his life around. At one point he served time in prison for assaulting a police officer. "My street name is Menace, but I come here as Demond." He performed in a talent show as part of a dance group called the Foot Soldiers more than 10 years ago and continued to stay involved after his first performance.

> *I lived half of my life in the street, but after a few years in the All Stars, I realized I'd rather do that. A lot of people started recognizing me, and the feeling behind that kept me coming back.*

Demond has been featured in *Newsday*'s City Edition (2/15/01) and the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (8/2/00).

Reactions of Participants

ASTSN participants were asked to share the reasons why they decided to join the program. Among the explanations that were given, the following themes emerged as most salient:

- acceptance
- respect
- exposure to different environments
- volunteering opportunities
- building the community

One of the most frequent explanations why young people participate in ASTSN has to do with the level of genuine acceptance and respect the program has shown towards its young participants. Acceptance is the core basis of the All Stars Talent Show Network; both talented and untalented youth are accepted to perform. In a focus group with long-time volunteers, Mark, an African American who has been volunteering for almost ten years, described his experience in the All Stars:

> *When I first met the program I was 17. You are not judged. You can be who you are. Even if you do something wrong, you are not chastised. They [staff] just says, let's talk about it, and they don't tell you you are wrong. They help you to discover yourself. They help you educate yourself.*

Another volunteer who's been with the All Stars for six years says:

> *Everyone that gets on stage is a winner and "kids are treated the way they want to be treated, with respect.*

Staff members also mentioned the themes of acceptance and respect as reasons why young people join the program. Like the young participants, Kathy Fiess, the Volunteer Coordinator and a long-time volunteer herself, reiterated that young people participate in ASTSN because everyone is accepted:

> *The program is wonderful because it doesn't grade kids. They don't have to be the best.*

When describing the impact she thought the All Stars has on the participants, she added:

> *All Stars brings kids and adults together. It changes how adults see the kids and how kids see the adults. It has a big impact on the kids and adults.*

The National Operations Manager, Pamela Sue Hafer, who has been producing shows for the last 10 years, agrees that ASTSN respects and values all their young participants:

> *It's something really high quality in the poor communities. The young people are treated with respect and a high level of responsibility and demand is placed on them. They are able to spread their wings. In so many other situations they are oppressed and humiliated. We have a lot of rules, but not about stifling them. It's such a different tone and vibe from any place that they set foot in.*

Other young participants like Jasmin, a 21-year-old African American, decided to participate in the program because it offers them experiences that they would not receive otherwise:

> *I keep coming back to All Stars because there are a lot of things you can do to volunteer. They keep you involved by inviting you to volunteer at different events. Their events are very classy, like we go to the Yale Club. [At the events] we will talk to people that paid $10,000 for their ticket. The program brings us to a world that otherwise we would not go to.*

The participants recognize that unlike many youth programs, ASTSN offers them unlimited opportunities to keep volunteering. As one young volunteer stated:

> *There is no limit as to how long a person can volunteer [in ASTSN]. We could volunteer until we are 50 years old!*

Another participant agreed and added:

> *Yeah, there is nothing like this in the community.*

This was an important aspect for the young people because they felt that other youth programs do not provide as many different opportunities to volunteer, and too often they outgrow the program.

Also, young people participate in the ASTSN as an alternative to engaging in unproductive behaviors. Many of them stated that they decided to participate because they felt that they did not have "anything better do to" or "it was better than being on the streets or standing on the corner." They believed that ASTSN deters many young people from "doing something negative."

Some participants joined the ASTSN because they recognized that the program helps young people to become better performers. In the words of one young participant, Kerry:

> *The All Stars is not all about performing. It's about practicing and rehearsing and making yourself better.*

Another common reason why the youth participate in the ASTSN is because the program inspires and motivates them to make a difference in their communities. Luis, a young Latino adolescent, shares that he volunteers in the ASTSN because they have taught him the importance of building communities:

> *All Stars has made me a firm believer in contributing back to the community. This is why I have made a personal promise to give back to the young community kids. I think I will participate with more effort when I go out to the outreach events where we tell the kids that there's going to be a show in their community.*

Following the September 11, 2001, tragedy, young people were asked to write essays describing how they are rebuilding New York City through their work with the All Stars. Will, a 24-year-old rapper in the 1999 Brooklyn Talent Show, wrote:

> *The youth in this program volunteer their time to help others, to help themselves, and to help themselves help others. I have been a part of the All Stars since July 1999. I first started in the All Stars as a performer against violence....[ASTSN] gives us the opportunity to do what this country is supposed to be based on, freedom—freedom to express [ourselves] physically, mentally, and verbally.*

Another young female participant shared that she was building the city by bringing communities together:

> *As a 19-year-old teenager, I am the future, which means that this generation has a lot of work to do. Since the tragedies of September 11, 2001, my work to rebuild my community, my city, my country—this work has become a full time task. I have been building my community and city with the All Stars for the past 3 years, not only as a young leader, but as a leader in the All Stars Project. I know that my voice is and will be heard.*

Reflecting on her experiences in ASTSN, another young female volunteer wrote:

> *I woke up early on Saturday mornings to sign up performers for their auditions. I woke up even earlier on some of those mornings to help set up the auditoriums for the events. I helped with the registration. I worked on the tech team. I even directed the workshops. And then one day it came to me. It wasn't just about the talent show. It wasn't about 300 plus kids overcrowding the sidewalks to show off their stuff. It wasn't even about us. It was about rebuilding community. It was about picking up pieces of a dream long forgotten and giving it back to those who needed it most. And that's what I was doing.*

Most of the participants interviewed seemed to be genuinely committed to ASTSN. They were dedicated and responsible and seemed to really enjoy volunteering. When asked to explain the reason why she thought the volunteers were so dedicated to this program, Kathy, the Volunteer Coordinator, said that the volunteers know that they are contributing to something important.

> *People recognize that the program not only keeps kids busy, but it's also connected to helping change the world in very basic ways. The program is seen as big in its potential impact. Whatever time you have to give, it is for something bigger! We have a different level of interest. We are lobbying for a way to have an impact in a more fundamental way. No matter what, whatever the kids do, it is important that they look good. We take the kids very seriously and people see the value to that.*

Observer Impressions

In contrast to a society where youth are over-identified with negative behaviors and defined by others as apathetic, experiences at ASTSN testify to the contrary. Almost anyone who attends an ASTSN event will notice the difference in the way young people are treated and respected. While many youth adopt those negative identities and perform in expected destructive roles, the young people in ASTSN become builders of and significant contributors to the program. In ASTSN, the young volunteers are everywhere serving as positive role models both for their peers and for adults.

Through the performance-based method, ASTSN participants explore new identities and flourish in many positive ways. They learn that they can become singers, producers, technicians, and youth leaders. Participants also experience supportive adults as they experiment with these new roles. In the words of one of the young participants:

> *The All Stars shows young people that they have the will and the power to do and be everything they want, be counted, and be heard. The All Stars shows young people that no matter what color, ethnicity, or class, everyone is someone. Everyone has something to contribute and everyone will be supported.*

In addition, the program effectively provides young people with meaningful leadership experiences. These experiences communicate a genuine message that they are important in the organization. In ASTSN, young people learn to direct and oversee program activities. They also play leadership roles. For example, Antoine Joyce, now 24 years old, started in ASTSN as a performer when he was a teenager. Today, he is the Assistant National Producer of the program. Similarly, Wil Farris, a 19-year-old participant who has been with the program for almost two years, has advanced rapidly and taken the responsibility of being the Co-Master of Ceremonies at the shows.

Further, in all of the activities observed, there was a sincere sense of belonging and inclusion promoted in the program. Instilling a sense of belonging and acceptance are at the core of the program activities. This is evident in the way the program staff interacts with the young people. They constantly praise the young people and speak very highly of them.

Finally, one could not help but notice and feel the infectious positive energy in ASTSN activities. Particularly in the audition and talent show, the energy of the young performers and the audience is absolutely contagious. There is something gratifying and scintillating in seeing hundreds of people from all walks of life come together for a common cause: to celebrate and support minority children and youth.

VI. Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth

The Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth (DSY) is an integrated human development program. Students from a variety of schools in impoverished areas of the city are invited to participate. Since its founding in 1997, nearly 350 young people from over 50 New York City high schools have graduated from the program. The program has two major components. The first is concerned with the activities that involve the direct participation of youth:

- Recruitment
- Development Day Workshop
- Workshop Sessions
- Graduation
- Corporate Internships
- Corporate Sponsors Reception

The second component of the program is focused on creating a corporate bridge through the integration of corporate professionals in the development of the program. Professionals from more than 60 companies have participated in the school's training activities, including conducting mock interviews, leading workshops, and sponsoring interns. Over 200 students have been placed in paid summer internships in finance, fashion, advertising, law, banking, human resources, public relations, accounting, and entertaining. These professionals are called Program Associates and are responsible for the development and coordination of the program. Program Associates contribute a minimum of $1,000 to the program and participate in training sessions designed to inform them about the issues and complexities of the program. In turn, members of the DSY staff learn more about the corporate context. The Program Associates then become part of a group that plans for and guides the development of the program and participates in leading the workshops. This group is also critical in recruiting other professionals as collaborators in the program. The final section of this program description is devoted to the Program Associates and their part in making the program a success.

Also important is the involvement of companies as a whole in the program. More than half of the participating companies have offered internships more than once. One company, Blaylock & Partners, has sponsored a whole DSY class for a complete semester. Events sponsored by the All Stars Project, such as the All Stars Gala and the Phyllis Hyman Phat Friend Awards, are opportunities for expansion of the network through the cultivation of supporters among the corporate elite.

The following detailed description of how the DSY program looks in action is based on extensive observation of the activities and interviews with students, staff, and Program Associates.

Schedule

Focused on the goal of helping students from poor neighborhoods to develop a more cosmopolitan worldview, confidence, and competence in both life and the work environment, the DSY experience begins with a recruitment seminar. Selecting some of the least-resourced high schools serving the least-privileged student populations, Lenora Fulani and Pamela A. Lewis spend early January and early September presenting students in high schools across the city with the "opportunity of a lifetime." Students are invited to participate in the DSY by submitting an application and a 200-word essay on the subject of leadership.

Students who submit the essay and application are invited to an interview at the ASTSN/DSY headquarters. Applicants must arrive on time; if they are more than five minutes late, they must reschedule their interview. They must come "dressed and without attitude" and be ready to talk about themselves. Students who complete these activities successfully are admitted to the DSY program.

The first activity that students attend as a part of DSY is the Development Day Workshop. At this activity, students meet and work with all the DSY students in their cohort as well as many DSY graduates who help to run the event. They also meet the directors of the program and various Program Associates. In the workshop, students are introduced to performance theory. They are then divided into groups to work on various theatre exercises, culminating in the presentation of a short skit. The exercises put the students in new situations with new people, significantly challenging their zone of comfort. This serves as an introduction to the kinds of exercises in which they will be participating in their DSY Workshops.

The most intensive portion of the DSY program consists of a series of 12 leadership and career development workshops. These training sessions take place at a variety of corporations and businesses around the city. The workshops are based in "performatory theory." As students learn the performances of the workplace, they develop competence in interpersonal skills across ethnicity and social class and develop a repertoire of performances and costumes suited to the corporate workplace. Workshops cover such topics as dress, interviewing, creating a resumé, entrepreneurship, and public speaking. Students have the opportunity to visit many workplaces, including the New York Stock

Exchange, and to speak with executives at leading corporations. The program currently runs five classes per year; two classes per semester are linked to a variety of businesses, and one class per year has been adopted by Blaylock & Partners, a Black-owned corporation. Students who complete the workshops are then placed in a summer internship at one of the corporations or businesses that work with DSY. These are paid internships where students have the opportunity to apply what they have learned throughout their DSY training.

The ASTSN / DSY organization values celebrations of development, special events that mark rites of passage for DSY students. These occasions provide opportunities for students to perform in their new personalities and for their families and friends to come and lend their support. The events are always tasteful and well-managed, and students clearly enjoy participating in them.

The last part of the cycle recreates the circle. The DSY students serve as volunteers themselves to help bring the program to more young people throughout the city. The graduates of DSY are heavily involved in the planning and presentation of the various programs offered by the All Stars Project.

Procedures Observed

The evaluators observed parts of all the activities that make up the Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth.

Recruitment

Recruitment for DSY occurs in a variety of New York City high schools, including many of the most notorious. The teachers, principals, or counselors are contacted to arrange the sessions. In the current cycle, the directors visited 15 high schools, reaching an average of 420 students per high school or over 6,000 students per cycle. In a previous cycle, out of 4,000 students spoken to, 2,000 applications were distributed, and 160 applications were received by DSY. Out of these 160 applicants, 50% completed the process.

In these recruitment sessions, the program directors seek to "sell" the concept of development to the students. They stress the inclusiveness of the program. Dr. Fulani says directly to the students, "If you are sitting there thinking, 'I'll never get into the program,' then you are exactly who we want. We want people who want another shot at growing."

Students who submit applications and essays are called by the coordinator within two weeks to set up an interview at the All Stars headquarters. Program directors and associates conduct small group interviews. Every student who comes on time and goes through the interview is accepted. Letters are sent to the students, and their parents must sign a consent form.

The following observation of a recruitment session is included in its entirety because of the clear illustration of the difference between the approach of ASTSN/DSY to supporting the development of young people and that of the public schools the students attend. This particular high school was described by one of the ASTSN participants who attended this school as a place where "teachers don't teach anything and you don't learn anything."

> *This particular DSY recruitment took place at one of the less prestigious high schools in the outer boroughs on a cold January morning. The large brick building encompasses an entire block, with a courtyard in the middle and medieval "arches" that indicate the entrances.*
>
> *Dr. Fulani arrived early for the presentation. Over the course of the morning she would talk to about 500 students here and another 500-1,000 at other schools in the area. After the required search by police and metal detector, we walked down a series of long, dull hallways. Dr. Fulani was very adamant in her dislike of the fact that students must come to a place everyday deemed so dangerous that they must be searched and walk through metal detectors, saying it sends a really difficult message. A teacher greeted Dr. Fulani and talked about how she is struggling along trying to do the best she can "under the circumstances." She gives a shrug that conveys frustration and a sense of failure.*
>
> *The principal met Dr. Fulani in the hallway and they warmly embraced. She is a strong supporter of DSY and Dr. Fulani. She testifies that her students who have graduated from DSY develop self-confidence, time-management, and an understanding that everything impacts on their future. She talks about the successes of several students with Dr. Fulani. We were then ushered into the old-fashioned school auditorium where teachers were arriving with their students. As they sat down, Dr. Fulani talked with the students informally as we waited for the others to arrive. When they asked her what she was there to do, she replied, "I'm going to offer you the opportunity of a lifetime." As she talked informally with them, she answered one of their questions, "No, this opportunity is not based on your GPA." She continues, "The program is not just a program. It's for free, if you make it." She laughs with the students, and speaks to them straightforwardly and asks them, "How old are you?" "You're not 19—I'm 22."*
>
> *Students begin to file into the auditorium under the watchful eyes of their teachers. They come in "angular," ready to reject what they are about to hear, but within a few minutes of informal talk the students drop their wariness. The principal is frustrated because the teachers are not bringing in their classes as instructed. Although only two classes have arrived, a good portion of the period is slipping by, so Dr. Fulani starts anyway.*

Students turn off to lack of respect and negative expectations:

> *The principal introduces Dr. Fulani saying, "She will talk to you about something that can change your life, but only if you are dedicated and committed. You must show up on time. No lateness. If you know you're a late person don't even bother to show up." Dr. Fulani begins "The program will expose you to things that you never see normally…" Another teacher brings in her class, interrupting as they find seats. In the interim, the school principal makes repeated comments, in front of the students, about how she made it clear to the teachers that they should come right away "I don't know what is wrong with the teachers…" Her tirade continues as the groups straggle in. She makes it clear that she did HER job in sending out the message. As the new classes settle into their seats, a teacher comes up and talks with her. The principal says to the teacher, "These are my best students. Now, which one is Mrs. Anton's favorite?"*

Students react positively to being given ownership of their community:

> *Dr. Fulani begins again, "Hi guys, this is one of my favorite schools—not because of what the media says about you. . . I want to invite you to become part of a program, really a movement, in our communities." As she speaks with the students, all the language she uses gives the students ownership of their environment.*
>
> *Another break occurs as students continue to enter. Dr. Fulani reviews briefly, catching up the newly arriving students and then moves on.*

It becomes clear, as the presentation progresses, that although the principal is a supportive fan of the DSY program and of Dr. Fulani, she clearly does not employ their philosophy or methodology. Students take notice of the fact that Dr. Fulani is a very different individual than those that they are accustomed to running into in their school auditorium:

> *Dr. Fulani continues, "Young people in inner-city communities need opportunities to become more sophisticated and worldly. My background is as a psychologist and a political activist. I also ran for president twice as an independent—the first black woman to do so." The students applaud and become much more attentive. Body language and facial expressions change from defensive to receptive. "I ran in an effort to create a new political party. I'm used to doing things that people don't expect you to do." She describes the program and says, "What it requires of you is to fill out an application and write a 200-word essay that gives some sense of what it means to be a leader.*

Students notice a different philosophy:

> *Again, more students enter, and as we wait, students in the front ask her why she isn't aggravated. She replies, "How come I'm not aggravated?" She smiles. Clearly, the major state of teachers here is aggravation. The students have picked up on the fact that she is different; her approach, her stance, her language, and her expression of caring are all*

> *different than the usual school interaction with adults. "Everyone who applies is interviewed. As a participant in the program, you need to arrive at headquarters at 4:00 until 7:00. What you participate in is a 12-week tour of the businesses around the city. You learn how to be more sophisticated as young people.*

Students take the bait, the offer of a paid internship. In addition, they are encouraged to reach for what they want by the absence of the usual roadblocks placed in their way:

> *Another class comes in. Dr. Fulani waits and then continues, "DSY is the best program in the country, in my opinion. You have a 12-week tour of businesses such as Bear Stearns, J. P. Morgan, radio, TV, fashion, people who run some of the biggest hospitals in the city. You will learn how to produce a professional resumé and participate in a mock interview. We teach you how to talk to professional, rich people. You then will get a paid summer internship. We ask them to pay more than the minimum wage—$9-$12 per hour. Students audibly respond very positively to this. "If you are sitting there thinking "I'll never get into the program," then you are exactly who we want. We want people who want another shot at growing. We are not disciplinarians or babysitters. If you need that, don't apply. Lots of people think that in high school you become what you're going to be. Your IQ, habits, etc. are set. That's not real—you can keep growing and changing."*

Dr. Fulani talks about issues that kids know about, but that no one addresses or challenges them with:

> *Dr. Fulani broaches the issue of the achievement gap. "We are a part of a movement of supplementary education—a word for after-school programs—a term Black and Latino educators coined—created. There is an education gap that exists between children of color and white and more privileged kids. They are not talking to you about it, but you read about it in the paper. You're defined—related to—as failures. We talk about it openly that our students do worse on standardized tests. Kids who come from privileged homes have experiences that others don't have." At this point, all the students are quiet—she has their complete attention. "They do things after school—vacations abroad, theatre, debate clubs, visit professional workplaces, trips to the top floor of a building where they can look out at a city their parents own, dinner conversations—white privileged students are more sophisticated than you are." The students are engaged, and a little shocked and challenged by what she is saying.*
>
> *She continues, "What are we going to do about this in our communities? That's why we created the DSY program. Our expectation is that you show up dressed as best you can, ready to have a conversation, no attitude. We'll give you an experience you never expected to have [complete silence in the hall].*

Dr. Fulani promises the students that they can change their lives:

> *"What is the theory behind this? We believe in human development—that you continue to grow until you die. Some people believe if you don't get it at an early age, you are lost, but we believe people grow until the end of their lives. You'll be exposed to Wall Street. You'll be going places. We don't care if you end up working there or stocking a shelf in a grocery store. We just want you to know that there are other things out there. Whatever you decide to do with your lives, you will end up with self-confidence. Some DSY graduates choose to go to college; some just learn how to go to Manhattan without being arrested and harassed by cops."*

She succeeds is distancing her message from the messages the students have absorbed from their school experience:

> *"Our approach is based on performance. Schools are into trying to measure what you already know. We teach you what you don't know. We build relationships between well-to-do white folks and young people. We teach you how to interact with people in our city who you would normally have nothing to do with. We're for every student who has the guts to go for it. Some of the young people remain in their job placements. To qualify you need to show up on time—dressed. One way people learn how not to be important in our community is by not being on time. CP time—there is no such thing. That's only for people who don't take themselves seriously. If you are 1 minute late, we will reschedule your appointment. If you are late again, you need to reapply. You don't know where our offices are, and if I told you, you still wouldn't know. How do you get there on time? Do a dry run and check out the trains; leave 2 hours before you need to be there. A lot of you go to a school where you don't have to be on time. In the world, people don't wait for you; they don't wait for anybody. You need to show up on time and be ready to talk about yourself."*

She correctly identifies their fears and reassures them:

> *A student inquires, "What happens if they ask a question, and they're not interested in what I say?" Fulani replies, "We will be interested in what you have to say. We are interested in students who say, 'I want to be bigger so much I will get on the train and go through this excruciating experience.' And no sneakers and jeans. Put on the best thing you've got in your closet.*
>
> *"We work with lots of corporations and businesses. One of them is Blaylock & Partners, which is the largest Black-owned investment firm. They took a class of 20 young people and went through the whole process this year. We want to work with thousands of kids."*

Dr. Fulani creates a positive atmosphere where young people are empowered to challenge their perceived limitations:

> *"The deadline is January 27th. If you want an application raise your hand." Some young people who have come with Fulani fan out giving the students the applications. A good number of the students have their hands raised.*

> *As Fulani stops speaking, the principal takes the center stage. She continually exhorts them "Take the application only if you are serious—only if you're really serious," as if each outstretched hand was unworthy, as if there were a very small number of these applications and she was worried that the "wrong kids" would waste them.*

In the brief time that Dr. Fulani has made her presentation, the students have been supported to respond to the positivity in her message. The bell rang, and students were released. A new group filed into the elegant old auditorium. In the next period, as Dr. Fulani repeated her presentation, the principal attempted more forcefully to appropriate the leadership role.

> *The principal began, "We have a full program for you...STAY WITH YOUR CLASSES! You may use the left and right sides of the auditorium." Her tone and attitude clearly indicated her expectations of poor behavior and lack of motivation from these young people. She repeats over and over, "You must be with a teacher to come in!"—keeping out students who are curious about the assembly.*
>
> *"You are all very fortunate to have Dr. Fulani here to talk to you. Last period she talked to a group of students who behaved excellently. If you are smart enough to listen to what she says...if you are smart enough to take advantage of what she has to offer, you will be changed, but you must be smart enough to listen."*

The implicit message the students pick up on is, "I am expected to behave badly and not be smart enough to listen and take advantage of her offer."

> *Dr. Fulani begins, "I am here to speak about the best offer of your life—participation in a youth program." These students start out more visibly bored and unengaged than the previous group, perhaps because they had already experienced one period in the classroom. Dr. Fulani continues, "How many of you, if you could, would change your life?" She notes, "The people who raised their hands are the brave ones among us."*

The principal continues to try to keep order in a situation where order has clearly been established:

> *As new students arrive, the principal yells, "No talking, no talking." although very little talking is occurring. Dr. Fulani thanks her. She continues," I am here to make the best offer any of you have ever had—an opportunity to change what you are doing with your life." Dr. Fulani elects to present without the microphone, which is now working. The principal keeps possession of the microphone throughout Dr. Fulani's presentation.*
>
> *Again, as they pass out the applications, the principal, this time over the loudspeaker, continually intones, "DO NOT take an application unless you are serious and are going to write a 200-word essay." She repeats a consistent mantra that always begins with "DO NOT." As Dr. Fulani is*

> *trying to get these young people to take the applications, they are hearing through the speakers "DO NOT," repeated over and over.*

The principal's underlying philosophy is that of scarcity. She does not want some of these undeserving students to appropriate places that more deserving students (in her eyes) could be taking. In her well-intentioned attempt to provide support, she manages to underline her negative message.

> *"If you need help, don't let the essay stop you. If you come to me, I will assign a teacher to help you write it. Make sure a teacher overlooks your essay. DO NOT hand it in without having a teacher read it! I repeat, DO NOT hand it in without having a teacher read it!" She exhorts them to send in their applications right away. "It's on a first-come first-served basis. Like when you come to school—if you get here at 7:00, you can just walk in; if you wait until 5 minutes to 8:00, you will be late because there is a big line.*

Perhaps the strongest message for these students is that of inclusivity. Students used to programs that select for the top 2% are wary of rejection:

> *Dr. Fulani answered some questions. "This young woman asked me if we turn people away. No, we want you to be a success. This is not a program where 7 people make it and 25 fail. Everyone can succeed."*

This sharp contrast between the actions and operating systems of these two Black, female leaders of approximately the same age was dramatic. While both acted in good faith, the results of Dr. Fulani's approach were clearly more successful than the principal's. The principal, for all her good intentions, succeeded in undermining the students' confidence and self-respect instead of strengthening it. This contrast makes a very good argument for the ASTSN/DSY contention that these schools are anti-developmental environments.

Student Reactions to Recruitment. DSY graduates have offered a student's perspective on their recruitment experiences. They suggested that "the bait was that they were offering us paid internships and the school told us that we had to have a certain amount of activities in our resume." One participant reflected that "Some people didn't join because of the essay they had to write." The directors sometimes ask students from the schools to present at the recruitment presentation. One participant thought that strategy was especially effective: "Brianna spoke at my school and we all knew her. She told us about her job. It would be better if people from our school came to tell us about it." They also commented on the directors' style. "Pam and Dr. Fulani are very laid back. They are inviting. When they do the presentation they talk about being multicultural and the opportunity to be in a corporate environment." Another participant was impressed by the energy of the presentation: "Most important, Pam was hyped. She was so excited when she told us about the program." Finally, one participant talked about the connection that the directors made with these students: "They talked like they genuinely liked what they were doing. They said they were involved. They made it sound interesting to each individual person."

Essays. Students who want to participate in DSY must write a 200-word essay on what it means to be a leader. Applicants do not necessarily know that all essays will qualify their authors for the program. It is the motivation demonstrated by writing the essay, not necessarily the quality of the essay, that is the characteristic sought by DSY. Many of the essays are very thoughtful. They range from more sophisticated writers to those who struggle with writing. Some are typed, some handwritten. All are accepted. The following excerpts are typical examples of the essays that students write for their application:

> *A leader is a person who fights for what they think is right. A leader is a person who leads people the right way. A leader is a person who gives people advice and helps keep them on the right path. A leader is a person who is wise and has the power to move people with their words and also does everything in their will to help the people they are leading (EB).*
>
> *I feel that a leader is a person who takes risks into their own hands, knowing that taking that risk can affect the lives of many people as well as their own. It may mess them up for the rest of their life, or make them the happiest person in the world. No matter what the outcome, they take pride in their actions and have the support of their followers because they were just brave enough to take the chances (SB).*
>
> *I have learned that I can be a leader because I have tolerance needed to deal with the people for whose lives I have an impact on. I also believe I can be leader because I strive to get the best performance out of those who are affiliated with myself without quitting. I understand the need for patience and endurance because in the end the result of hard work pays off (EE).*
>
> *I see myself as having a lot of potential as a leader. I am a Hispanic female with many insights about how I want to be able to help others. I want to show everyone that if you are smart and you have a good head on your shoulders, you can follow your dreams (LL).*

Interviews. Students must arrive on time for interviews. Those who arrive more than 5 minutes late are asked to reschedule. If that happens again, they lose their opportunity to apply to the program. Those who arrive on time are greeted and escorted into a room at the All Stars headquarters, where a Program Associate conducts the interview. The young people are asked fairly commonplace questions, such as Why do you want to apply for DSY? What are your interests? What are your strengths? Who is an important role model? What kinds of work experiences have you had? What kinds of groups do you belong to? How would you contribute to DSY? What kinds of issues are you concerned about? What the students reveal in these interviews is their self-confidence, motivation, and enthusiasm, as well as areas of skill and interest. Students are not aware that all students interviewed are accepted. Because all students are accepted, the interview is not an evaluation tool.

Development Day Workshop

The Development Day Workshop is the first opportunity that prospective DSY participants have to meet the group of students with whom they will be sharing the DSY experience. The goals of the workshop are to have the students meet staff and Program Associates, as well as alumni who talk about their experience in the program. In addition, the students will be led in improvisational workshops by members of Performance of a Lifetime, who introduce the performatory approach to development.

The Workshop described here took place in June 2002. It begins at 10:00 AM. Many of the students come with parents or other family members, some come with friends, and others come alone. Some of the students are excited; some are nervous. They are interested to see what DSY is all about.

The program is organized with precision: each participant has a nametag waiting for him/her. They are escorted to the room by DSY graduates. Students are impeccably dressed, with elegant cornrows or scarves. Some are dressed stylishly, and others formally. There are about 100 young people in the room, and more females than males. To start the program, Dr. Lenora Fulani introduces herself and DSY. She begins by giving the participants ownership of the program they are about to begin.

> *"The DSY is your school for development, performance, and leadership training." She says that the vision of DSY is a growth plan for every young person in New York City. She introduces the participants to the community that they have become a part of: this includes DSY, ASTSN, and the Castillo Theatre. She emphasizes that DSY is a program designed to give young inner-city youth a first chance at success and that the program is a learning environment based on a brand-new learning model where everybody grows. "The experience will help you be successful in life and in school and give you confidence in taking on the world. We have created something new and different."*

At this point, some of the staff are introduced as well as the Program Associates. The Program Associates speak to the group concerning their experience and why they work with DSY.

> *Debra London of AMEX talks about how when she began volunteering at DSY, she started "learning more than I could ever imagine." She was most impressed with the success of the performance approach: "Young people are not born with Future 500 DNA or a corporate chromosome—it is something all of us have to learn." She emphasized that the performance approach helps participants to develop the tools to create new performances in school, work, and family."*

Several DSY graduates spoke to the group:

> *The first, Luis Kow, a senior at DeWitt Clinton High School, humbly said, "I never thought I'd be here. I lived in the Bronx, a secluded life; I didn't know what was past 34th Street." He admonished the new participants to "Keep an open mind and absorb as much as you can."*
>
> *Amanda Jones of Erasmus High School was a 2001 DSY graduate and a participant in the All Stars as well as a Youth Host at the gala at Lincoln Center. She said, "What you thought that you know, you don't know." She added that students will get a job in the corporate world, make more money, and feel better about themselves. "You think McDonald's is good? Trust me, this is better." She then added her most important piece of advice: "Enjoy it!"*

Workshop. The workshop session began with a short introduction by David Nackman, an artistic associate of the Castillo Theatre and director of the consulting firm Performance of a Lifetime. He talked about life as a performance and told the students that in the workshop they would be learning some of the basics of improvisation, "In DSY, no one will give you a script." He then described a theater exercise: "Whose line is this? teaches you how to listen in a special way to what another character is saying. These are skills that you can use when you walk into a job situation." He introduced them to the idea that they would all be creating a play and that there would be friendly competition among the groups, just as there is competition in the business world and "You have to be on your game."

Students were asked to form groups and do a variety of theatre exercises. The first exercise was to form a "human machine." Participants were asked to work together and to "work off each other using movement and sound." The participants were *very* reluctant to participate:

> *In the first group, the students created a machine—clap/snap/stomp were the common movements. The workshop leader had to pull them to participate. She said, "You can own this new machine," and the participants made the machine go faster and faster. The students are not used to this kind of activity and are very uncomfortable about appearing foolish before strangers. However, it does break the ice and students begin talking to each other.*

In the second part of the workshop, the students were asked to create and present a short play.:

> *They began with an exercise where each group must get on the stage and create a spontaneous group story. The exercise involves listening to each other and building upon the story by adding the next line beginning with "Yes, and...." The workshop leader intervened when problems arose, "You said, 'the grasshopper was green,' then somebody found the grasshopper, then it disappeared. That's problematic. If a character is introduced you need to follow it through." The workshop leader also gave them some training on being an audience. He demonstrated applauding, crying, gasps of surprise, and then asked the audience to practice with cheers and applause.*

Each group was given 20 minutes to create a 5-minute scene in which every member of the group was involved. David suggested that the most important thing to decide was how the scene would end. The participants worked diligently to come up with an idea and develop it. Each member was given a role to play. The completed scenes included titles such as: Don't Be a Player, A Mismatch Made in Heaven, The Scary Party, Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?, Brooklyn, and Dalu the She Devil. All of the scenes reflected issues that many students encounter in their lives, including relationship problems, family crises, drugs, violence, clubs, and each carried a message. The presentations ranged in quality: some were short and hard to understand; others were very amusing and powerful. The practice at being an audience was fruitful, and the audience was positive and responded enthusiastically.

As the judges, made up of staff and alumni, retired to decide on the awards, the workshop leader asked the students to reflect on the workshop experience. Students reflected, "It was scary, but actually it was fun." Others commented, "Even though we didn't know anyone, we were outgoing and spoke up." "It was great when the audience laughed. The audience really helped out." The workshop leader commended them for "going with" the different situations, and for their success at "playing new characters." He told them that they needed to develop more confidence, listen to each other, and "remember that the characters you play are based on you." When asked to reflect on what impressed them about their groups, they responded that they were impressed by the comedy of the scenes, the teamwork, the energy, the organization, the fact that they got so much done in a short time, and the opportunity to be somebody else.

The judges returned from their deliberations and gave each group an award. They included awards for most original/realistic, longest, most enthusiastic group, most energetic group, greatest emotional impact, best teamwork, best title, and most creative. The students left the workshop feeling positive: they had managed to meet the challenge and felt successful in their new roles as DSY participants. The goal of the DSY, to create successful stories for young people, was already beginning to be made a reality.

Workshop Sessions

The DSY curriculum consists of 12 weekly workshops designed to support young people as they develop leadership skills. The workshops are presented weekly on the same afternoon by different corporate executives and meet at downtown office buildings. The curriculum is organized as follows:

Orientation: Performance Training
Computers: Accessing the Internet
Interpersonal Performance
Investment and Research Analysis in Corporations
How to Write a Resume
How to Interview for a Job
Mock Interviews
Visit to the New York Stock Exchange
Dress for Success
The Business of Fashion: Operations and Opportunities
Finances and Trading in the 21st Century
Public Speaking
Consulting and Economics
Rehearsal for Graduation

This schedule is the basic framework for the program. However, the curriculum is a constantly developing entity, and new workshops are often created as Program Associates see a need or the program gains volunteers with special skills

The students begin their participation in DSY with an orientation in performance, for which they read the first chapter of the book used as the text, *Let's Develop* by Fred Newman (1994). Their assignment is to prepare and perform an introductory performance of themselves. The session is attended by parents, volunteers, program directors, and staff, and all get a chance to interact. Students are assigned to network with the people at the session. The President of the All Stars Project, Inc., of which DSY is a part, gives a presentation about the program, Dr. Fulani speaks about the performatory approach, and Pamela A. Lewis reviews curriculum and expectations.

The curriculum includes approximately five worksite visits, where students get to experience the business environment first hand. A bus takes them to the site, and an executive or a staff member at the firm leads the workshop. When the DSY participants arrive at the place of business, they are hosted by a high-level executive or team. Businesses that have participated include Wall Street law firms, investment firms, advertising companies, consulting firms, banks, and hospitals. Students get advance information on the firms and prepare questions. For some workshops, the students and Program Associates travel by bus and use the time on the bus to prepare for the visit, such as reviewing the history of banking and money, and to reflect on the experience on the way back.

There are six skills workshops, including resumé writing, accessing the internet, interpersonal performance, dress for success, how to interview for a job, and public speaking. After students write a resumé, Program Associates review it and give them feedback. In the seventh week, students are given a mock interview assignment. They are responsible for calling up an adult donor/volunteer and setting up an appointment. These are generic interviews, not necessarily geared to students' specific interests, the main purpose of which is to figure out how to get themselves there, dress professionally, and present themselves in a professional manner. The interviewers then write an evaluation of the interview that is shared with the students. Students do two of these interviews as part of their training.

The following workshop was focused on the topic of public speaking. The group of students numbered 16, 11 young women and 5 young men. The guest speaker, David Nackman (Director, Performance of a Lifetime), is an actor and trainer who teaches public speaking and improvisation. He is an Artistic Associate at the Castillo Theater.

This workshop was held at Merrill Lynch. Participants first had to obtain clearance from security and then be escorted to the workshop. Jill Battalen, the Program Manager from DSY and the Program Associate Danita Branam were present. The students were sitting in a circle, some chatting quietly and others sitting silently.

> *Following a short discussion about students' experiences with their mock interviews, Danita handed out the assignment for next week, which was to read Chapter 3 of* Let's Develop, *and told the students they would be meeting at the All Stars headquarters to take the bus for their next workshop. She reminded the students to come prepared with questions. Then she asked them if they were ready for the mini presentations they had prepared for today's workshop.*

Before she introduced the guest speaker, Danita reviewed some of the things the participants had learned in the previous workshops. "You have learned different ways of speaking: introducing yourselves to others, assigning roles and responsibilities among peers, making a phone call, making an appointment for an interview." She then tells them that today they will "go over public speaking" and introduces the guest speaker, David Nackman.

Many of the students have a lot of fear concerning public speaking and actually indicated that as a reason that they wanted to come to DSY. David begins the workshop by addressing those fears. He reminds the participants that "every scene you walk into is an opportunity to perform." The workshop then provides questions that help students to relate to the various situations in which they have participated in different types of public speaking:

> *David asked the participants "Who is afraid of public speaking?" About 6 of the participants raised their hands to indicate they were afraid of public speaking. David followed his question with "What are you afraid of?" One student responded that she is "afraid of not being eloquent like speakers such as Martin Luther King." David addressed the student's concern by saying, "We are looking at your charm, personality, vulnerability. How can you take all of that and present yourself in front of a group of people. It [public speaking] is like having a conversation and allowing people to get to know you."*

In the game "Tell Me About the Time...," participants had the opportunity to warm up to their peers and at the same time practice both public speaking and improvisation skills. David told the participants that in order to play the game, each participant would have to walk to the front of the room and stand behind a chair without touching it and speak until he indicated when to stop:

> *The guest speaker called the first participant to the front of the room. David instructed Charles to "tell me about the time you found $100 on lower Broadway." Charles, a young African American male dressed in an all-white suit and tie, makes up a creative story about the time he found the money. The guest speaker stopped Charles after about 2 minutes and the others giggle and applaud at the details of Charles's story.*
>
> *One shy Asian student, Lilly, was asked to "tell about the time you jumped out of a 747 airplane." Lilly laughed nervously in the beginning of her story to cover what seemed to be embarrassment and anxiety about having to speak in front of the group. The audience also giggled in response to Lilly's performance, and the guest speaker stopped Lilly to remind the audience that "they are also performing." He told the participants that they needed to "support your speaker. The audience performance is to support the speaker."*
>
> *Kenisha and Sereya were called one after the other and were asked to "tell about the time you mixed mustard and butterscotch ice cream" and "tell us about the time you invaded Mexico." This time, the guest speaker decided to change the game a little and intermittently interrupted the speaker by asking, "Did you say __?" Then the speaker would have to say,*

> *"No, did I say __? I meant to say__." and have to replace the last thing they said with a new one.*

The game continued for another 45 minutes. Each participant was called on and given an opportunity to improvise according to the format with various prompts.

> *"Tell us about the time you appeared on General Hospital." Salita created an amusing story by using unconventional details. For example, when she stated that she "met a really cute guy on General Hospital," David interrupted her to ask, "I'm sorry did you say cute?" to which Salita quickly replied, "No, did I say cute? I meant to say really ugly." Her response caused immediate laughter among her peers. Salita seemed very comfortable and confident during her performance. She seemed to enjoy being in front of her peers.*

After the last participant was called, the guest speaker asked the participants, "How was that [meaning the exercise]? Was it as bad as you thought?" The participants seemed relieved that the exercise was over. They seemed to have enjoyed it.

During the next part of the workshop, participants were asked to present a prepared 5-minute speech about a story they knew well. All the participants had prepared the story in advance. David suggested to the participants not to read their story. He told them that following their individual presentations, he would give each presenter feedback and the opportunity to apply his feedback in a second performance (Act 2).

> *After the first speaker gave his speech, David provided him and the rest of the peers with specific feedback. The question "What do you want people to remember about your speech?" was intended to encourage the student to begin his story with a strong introduction. David also told him to "set up the audience by provoking them." He explained that that tactic works with "stories that have a message." David announced "Act 2," and the participant gave his speech over using David's feedback. The student's speech was much more effective the second time.*
>
> *Another young man presented a monologue in which he is both acting and telling a story about his day of the interview. The student began with "I'm waiting for the train. I got on my suit and I'm listening to JayZ on my headphones. Why is everybody looking at me?" This was a creative and unique presentation. The student was both confident and comfortable in front of his peers.*
>
> *One young woman was very shy and spoke in a quiet manner. She seemed very nervous as she told a story about a time when she saw a man who worked as a cashier at a grocery store allow a woman standing in the checkout line to steal groceries. For Act 2, David encouraged Charmaine to "take on someone else's character—like Wonder Woman because she is invincible and strong." He told her "You don't have to know who she is, but just act like another character, like the character of an invisible Wonder Woman." He added with enthusiasm, "You are Wonder Woman inside."*

> *David showed the participant how a "wonder woman" would walk and the level of confidence that she would exude. The participant tried to act and imitate David's performance in Act 2.*

The Program Associate brought closure to the workshop by asking the participants what they had learned today and what had they tried. Among the responses were—

- Not to stutter
- How to improvise
- How to get your point across
- How to take your time because "it is your time"
- How to go with the flow and not let the audience know you are not prepared

Danita then introduced a couple of the observers from Blaylock & Partners, who were interested in "adopting" a DSY class in the fall. She then announced "Curtain" to indicate the workshop had ended.

All the workshops observed were planned and executed in a professional manner. The leaders were knowledgeable executives or professionals, and the topics were of importance to the goals of the program. Students were highly engaged in the activities.

Graduation

The last two sessions of the DSY training are dedicated to preparation for the graduation ceremony. Students write an essay in which they describe their experiences at DSY and focus on how they use performance in everyday life. This presentation is one minute long and must express how they have grown at DSY. The program directors help the students to create group performances that will be presented at the graduation.

The graduation itself is produced by alumni of the program and attended by donors, parents, volunteers, and Program Associates. Speeches are given by the directors of the program as well as guest speakers that include business associates and All Stars participants. Program Associates develop a performance that represents their experience of the young people's development. Students present the performance they have prepared and receive plaques.

> *The 2002 DSY graduation ceremony started promptly at 6:15pm. Friends, family members, DSY and ASTSN staff, DSY alumni, and supporters were mingling and talking in a nice and comfortable room. There were approximately 100 people at the event. Chairs were arranged on both the right and left side of the room facing a small stage with a podium on the left and a long table with chairs for the "panel." Above the stage hung a banner with the words, "Development School for Youth, where performance leads the way to development."*

At the back of the room was a table with hors d'oeuvres. DSY students greeted and welcomed the guests upon arrival. All of the participants, about 45 students representing two DSY classes, were elegantly dressed for the night's event.

The commencement began with welcoming remarks made by "the moderator," a member of the All Stars Board of Directors and a graduate of the 11th class of DSY. In his remarks, the moderator stated, "I can see myself in the faces of so many of you, especially in the faces of the many youth who've grown up on the other side of the river. I lived on the poor tracks, but I had a dream…and had people who gave me a helping hand. It's good to congratulate you on all of your accomplishments."

Pamela Lewis introduced two of the graduates who were selected by their peers to perform an original poem or essay. Adali, a 17-year-old senior at DeWitt Clinton High School read a piece entitled "The Rookie," and Jerissa, an 18-year-old senior at Lehman High School, read a short essay entitled "It Is Better to Try and Fail Than Not to Try at All." In her essay, Jerissa noted that the program has helped her to become "a self-motivated young adult" and that the "workshops have impacted me in a positive manner. The workshops have helped me to concrete my goals."

Dr. Fulani, in her speech, affirmed, "There is a powerful connection between being acquainted with the ways of the world and being a learner… between being cosmopolitan and becoming more and other than who we are. Our youth have the experience of being disconnected in this society." She related that one DSY participant shared that she had never been to the World Trade Center, although she lived in Queens all her life. Another shared that when he was walking to come to one of the workshops, a friend asked him if he was going to court because he was dressed in a suit. "Their lives are so narrow and so contained that the slightest changes raise eyebrows. Cultural deprivation is real… Supplementary education is an approach designed to reorganize that deprivation. It prioritizes development…We have lived in a dark ghetto for so long, a ghetto of ignorance…They are lighting the way for all of us, and it is up to us to follow."

Ron Blaylock from the Blaylock & Partners investment firm addressed the students after that. The company plans to adopt a class of 25 DSY students and will guarantee internship positions in their firm. In Mr. Blaylock's message to the students, he provided them with the 5 P's for Continued Success:

Preparation—Preparing for life, business, career. Preparation will help you to have big success.

Persistence—Have a will. You just don't give up. Go forward. You will get knocked down, but just stick with it.

Play—Play to win. Take chances. Don't be afraid to lose. Be willing to take risks.

People—All great successes are built with people, your parents, your friends. Select positive people to be around.

Passion—Find out what your passion is. If you have a lot of passion, you will do well.

> *The next speaker was Kurshana Thornton, a 17-year-old senior who read a piece entitled "Being Alone." In her address, she stated, "My life changed for the better when DSY arrived at my school. [DSY] is a place where you can learn and experience and grow. The directors and participants were very giving. They wanted to hear what I wanted to say. I've grown tremendously because of you. It has made a big difference in my life."*

The panel discussion, led by Dr. Fulani, included two Program Associates and four DSY students; among them were Michelle, Elani, and Luis.

> *Dr. Fulani began the discussion by asking the participants, why are you here? One participant replied, "I applied to DSY because of the internship position." Another said, "I never thought it could offer me so many opportunities." Elani responded, "I wanted to learn how to interview for college." Luis answered, "I liked the fact that we had to dress up. And I asked myself, why not? Me being from the Bronx, I never went past 34th Street. I would never dress up before except for church."*
>
> *Pete, the Program Associate responded, "Because of the performance aspect and working with inner-city youth. Debbie, the other Program Associate said, "I never had an opportunity to be in the business world. I had to learn on my own. I thought it would be a great opportunity to teach youth."*

The second question Dr. Fulani asked the panel was Could you share some of your challenges? How have you grown?

> *One student responded, "One of the hardest things was to make sure that I made every class because I really don't like school, but then I came to the program and saw how good it was. The program has taught me to be more mature. I'm not gonna let you get to me, put me down. I am now a professional."*
>
> *Another said, "I've learned to communicate. You have to perform...what to say and how to say it. I learned to perform in different ways, show them who you are not. I learned how to communicate with everyone."*
>
> *"Adapting. I went through a metamorphosis. I wanted to learn as much as I could. The Program Associates guided me. I didn't know how to adapt to the environment. Before the program, I never pictured myself selling in front of a CEO or a president. I didn't know how to get there. Now I know how," remarked Luis.*
>
> *Dr. Fulani asked the Program Associates what was the biggest challenge in working with young people?*
>
> *Debbie said, "I found out they're like everybody else. I had no choice but to get on the subway. If it weren't for the kids, I wouldn't have done that. It helped me to get over my fear." Pete added, "One of my biggest fears was being sort of aggressive with the young people. I was not comfortable doing that, being aggressive to give leadership and guidance."*

The panel discussion was followed by two short speeches made by Charles Johnson, an 18-year-old senior, and Sefina, a 17-year-old senior:

> *Charles: The first workshop was intimidating. DSY taught me about performing to take responsibility for my life. I learned that I am performing every minute of my life. Conversations with adults are all about building. I also have something to teach adults.*
>
> *Sefina: No one really knows how to grow up. A part of me grew up, the part that didn't know how to talk to a professional. It doesn't seem impossible to sit in an interview. Now I can be that person behind that desk, thanks to the DSY program.*

The participants were called to the stage one by one to receive their awards. The audience applauded enthusiastically. Parents and friends took pictures as the graduates walked back to their seats. The ceremony culminated with a singing performance by one of the participants, a young African American woman who sang "The Greatest Love of All."

Corporate Internships

Corporate internships are, for young people, an important attraction of the program. These internships are offered primarily by donors or donor referrals. A committee of donors, with the help of the director of the DSY program sets up the internships. There follows a process of matching students with the available internships. The DSY students put their training to work and finally go on a real interview. The internship consists of a 30-40 hour, full time job that lasts for approximately eight weeks. Sponsoring organizations are encouraged to pay more then minimum wage: between $9 -$12 per hour. The directors meet with the graduates to prepare them for internship performance. They stress that this is a real job. The DSY does not mediate the students' relationships with their supervisor. In the first few weeks, follow-ups are carried out by the Internship Committee to assure that students are thriving in their placements.

The content of the jobs that students do varies greatly. Some students take on quite a lot or complex responsibility at the firms where they work. Others do fairly simple routine tasks. The focus of the experience is not necessarily on the content of the work performed, but on the education gained by experiencing the environment, one very foreign to most of the young people. Just as the children of affluent professionals have opportunities to visit and participate in their parents' workplaces and absorb the culture, these students are being offered that opportunity.

The DSY stresses that they do not mediate the internship experience for their participants. The interns are expected to traverse the process of adaptation independently. They do, however, maintain communication with a program manager who they can call if any problems arise that they need to discuss with someone. Interns say they found sufficient support within the organization where they were placed. They felt that the staff "knows you on a personal level." In addition, there were several meetings with DSY, one in July, for the purpose of monitoring the experience of the young people. The participants, including the sponsoring agencies, found the DSY staff to be supportive, honest, and striking an important balance between letting the students experience the independence of their position and providing sufficient security for the participants.

Corporate Sponsors Reception

At the end of the summer, students and internship supervisors are invited to a reception, where they give presentations that express the experience of the internship. The event is attended by sponsors, families, and friends, and the interns present their sponsors with tokens of their appreciation.

Pamela A. Lewis opened the ceremony by giving an overview of the program. She explained that 100 youth have been involved with 38 companies; half of the companies took multiple interns. The organization has taken care to build bridges between young people and the business community, offering them an opportunity to interact. The relationship is a partnership. Supervisors teach students how to navigate the business world. The students are included in a team and treated as responsible adults with something to give. In return, the sponsors learn to think differently about young people of color.

Next, a variety of Program Associates and sponsors spoke about their experience with the DSY interns. One sponsor talked about how he introduced DSY interns to the activities of his law firm. Other sponsors commented on how the interns were willing to listen and take criticism. Another expressed his enthusiasm as follows: "What a metamorphosis! The intern went from being very shy to a confident fast learner." Two supervisors were pleased that the students were "able to give back to us." Throughout the ceremony, the sponsors beamed.

The interns spoke as well. One young woman commented that "They treat me as a responsible adult." Two interns who had worked for Deutsches Bank gave a PowerPoint presentation about how they had to develop aggressiveness and learned constantly from being challenged. A young man who worked in securities enjoyed the exposure to a lot of different departments. His internship will end on the floor of the stock market.

The next part of the program was devoted to giving certificates and taking pictures of the sponsors with their interns. Each of the interns gave their sponsors a rose.

Students commented that the company they worked for was "a real community." One sponsor said that the hard-working style is what the students want to emulate. One student said that she had learned three things in her internship: (1) you never get a second chance to make a first impression; (2) you get one chance to make a mistake; and (3) never let anyone outwork you."

At the conclusion of the ceremony, the students, their families, and the sponsors mingled and chatted.

Program Associates: Roles, Responsibilities, and Motivation

The central role of the Program Associates is to create a bridge from the corporate culture to the culture of DSY students. Program Associates come from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, but represent those who have successfully navigated the corporate playing field. The Associates are self-selected volunteers who are deeply involved in every part of the planning and delivery of the DSY program:

> *The thing is that the Program Associates are asked, and we self-select, to build the program, and that means everything from fundraising to getting internships to organizing more Program Associates to bringing people to graduation and orientation. So it's as much as you can do. The work is endless. What we're asked to do is invest in the total in whatever way [we] can.*

The following reflections on the role of the Program Associate come from a focus group involving three current Program Associates: one works in human resources, another works for a staffing and consulting organization, and the third is an attorney for a trademark and copyright firm. One is a neophyte as a Program Associate, working with the program for a year, another has worked with the program for 5 years, and another has been involved with the All Stars Project from its inception. They became involved with the program in different ways: through a cold call, as a result of corporate networking, and as someone who helped create the program:

> *The way I became involved is that I got a call about making a donation and I asked about the organization. I asked what opportunities they had for volunteer work. I came down here and got an orientation about what was available and I started getting involved. We were the first class of Program Associates a few years ago.*
>
> *How I heard about DSY? Actually it's very interesting. My company purchased a table for 10, and they came back to the office and all they talked*

> *about for the next week was DSY, DSY, DSY and these young people are fantastic. When I asked about any possible volunteer opportunities, our vice president made the introduction for me to meet Dr. Fulani. I had lunch with her and I found out a little more about becoming a Program Associate, and we both agreed it sounded like a perfect match.*
>
> *I was around the All Stars when it first started in the early 80s and I participated in some All Stars activities back then and then I kind of left the community for a little while and then came back when DSY—when Lenora and Pam first started it and I was looking for something to fit into—and someone suggested that I join the support committee for DSY, which I did.*

Two of the interviewees are Assistant Program Directors, which involves extra time and commitment, since they take on a weekly responsibility to make sure the program runs smoothly and to coach the young people and monitor how they are doing. In addition, they meet with the Directors and evaluate and revise the program at regular intervals.

These three Program Associates freely admitted that they are some of the more dedicated of the group:

> *Program associates are not all the same. We're three of the more active. There are other Program Associates who don't do what we do and don't have quite the same level of investment, though there's some minimum level of investment in building the program that everybody has. But even within the Program Associates, there's a wide range of commitment.*

Program Associates have a variety of responsibilities and commitments to the program:

- participation in the training program
- initial interviewing of DSY candidates
- planning curriculum
- presenting workshops
- fundraising and placement of interns
- evaluation and revision of the program

Participation in the Training Program. The training program for the Program Associates is an evolving entity. At first, people who wanted to get involved with DSY wrote essays in order to be accepted as Program Associates. Then they got together for a couple of nights, and Dr. Fulani told them what she hoped to accomplish with the program:

> *We do have Program Associate training, but it's usually more an interaction where we get a chance to discuss different issues—things that come up. The first meeting was more about where we were coming from—our background and experiences we might have had, or not had, interacting with young people in the inner-city environment. And then Program Associates actually had training with some of the people from*

> *Performance of a Lifetime and did role-plays and other theatre games and exercises.*

The Program Associates also explained how important the role of the Directors was in their success within the organization:

> *I've always felt that everyone is very accessible to me. They make themselves accessible. For Fulani herself, you just have to pick up a phone or fax or something or whatever; you always get a response. Everyone has been very, very, very generous in giving of their time if you do have any questions or any issues.*

Initial Interviewing of DSY Candidates. Program Associates have the responsibility of interviewing all the candidates for the DSY program. Since interviewers do not judge their interviewees, they are free to begin a relationship with them through this interview process. Reflecting Dr. Fulani's comments about the lack of "worldliness" that characterizes many of the young people from the less-affluent neighborhoods of New York City and other similar areas, the Program Associates echoed her concern:

> *It always amazes me, the subway ride from one borough to the next. Just a subway ride away how radically different the environment is. I think I realize it the most when the students come in for their initial interviews. It might be their first time they are in Manhattan. They might come in with a parent; they might come in groups of 2 or 3 friends who have scheduled their appointments at the same time so that they can take the subway together. I think that I find the biggest impact in beginning speaking with them on their initial interviews. They come out with statements about their communities, and the more involved I've become with DSY, the more I give myself access to what's going on in those communities. We need a box of tissues when they come on their initial interviews in case they need them. Sometimes I've found that I need them afterwards—the talk about the violence, the issues that they have to face.*

Planning Curriculum. The evolving curriculum for this program is designed to provide the experiences for growth that the Program Associates need to meet their responsibilities. Currently, first-year Program Associates are initially asked to assist in one of the workshops, such as an interview workshop, and to observe or support in others. The idea is that they will assimilate the approach and content of the classes which they observe. The current workshop leaders participated in the same kind of training with Dr. Fulani and Pamela A. Lewis as mentors. While Program Associates learn from both observing current Associates and training sessions, one commented that the most important learning happens on the job. Since these Program Associates entered the program at different times in its development, they could contrast the first cohort, which basically invented the program, with more recent volunteers, who have benefited from the experience of those who went before.

> *I think you learn it as you go along. You fly by the seat of your pants in the beginning. For me, it's been a lot easier than I'm sure it's been for [the first Associates], because I have people to emulate and people to ask questions of.*

The relationship between theory and practice in the Program Associates training is fairly implicit. The strong effect of personality [of the Directors], however, embodies a strong dose of thoughtful and knowledgeable reflective practice. During our conversation, the Associates examined how they integrate developmental theory into their delivery of the program:

> *I think it's connected to theory. We don't think about it like "This is the theory and this is the problem, so how do we now craft a solution?" I think about it more like, "What would Lenora do here? (Laughter) Or what would Pam do here? It's more like that.*
>
> *The way I think about it is, I'm in the director's role, how do I want to direct this scene? I think I've internalized that more than ever before. How do I want to create this scene? And if somebody's acting out, how do I need to change it from that perspective?—which I think comes from the theory of performance.*

One Program Associate explained that one of their responsibilities is "teaching these young people how to act White." The corporate culture operates on a number of implicit understandings that are ingrained in young people who come from families that are members of the corporate culture. Program Associates contribute to the program by identifying the implicit behavioral components of corporate life that allow those from outside the culture to assimilate and explicitly teaching those behaviors through the DSY program. This comment comes from an interview with a Black Program Associate:

> *Part of our training as Program Associates for DSY was to play the same scene twice–one time with everyone performing as a White person, and then with everyone performing Black. I had never noticed "White" and "Black" as cultural performances. I used to think certain things were natural.*

White Program Associates identify the components of corporate behavior as embedded in the enculturation experiences of growing up in an affluent White family:

> *You have the opportunity to teach them things that you take for granted because you grew up in a very different way than they did. And we learn because our family did it, or our parents or mother or sister or whatever. And a lot of the training is even figuring out what those things are. They're*

> *so ingrained in us—it's taken years for us to kind of pull out and give more of what we know.*

DSY leaders are also called upon to address the young people's occasional resistance to the idea that "acting white" is a prerequisite for success in corporate America. Students sometimes see playing roles as acting "phony." DSY tries to explain to them that they already have plural personalities and performances:

> *I was realizing in a personal relations workshop last semester that sometimes the kids say the performance they develop is "phony." I explained that you already have a portfolio of performances. You may not look at it this way, but really you have them. You have one for church and one for your friends—that was a real-life example.*

They also stress the idea that students make the choice to adopt a behavior or not to adopt it. They do it for a purpose, and the process is additive rather than subtractive:

> *That's another big thing—you're making a choice. If you can say you have to do it and it's something you're going to need for your whole life, you're making a choice. We want to make you aware of the options, but then you're making a choice. This past semester they got really upset about the guidelines and suggestions we made in Dress for Success about what to wear to an interview. They got really bent out of shape that you couldn't wear some kinds of jewelry or your fingernails in certain ways. We said, "We know it doesn't sound fair, and it's very one-sided. We're not telling you not to do it. We're just telling you it's not going to be working in your favor, so you have the choice. We're pointing out what the real world is." So we don't try to say we're right or justify it. It's just making them aware, and they probably haven't had anyone explain it to them before.*

Presenting Workshops. As Program Associates are not specialists in interaction with young people, the training sessions help them to deal with some of the challenges that their students present to them:

> *You have sessions with the directors where they try to do some critical reflection with you. Like this is what happened: the kid came and interviewed, this is what I said, and this is what she said. Why didn't you think to say this? Or maybe this would have been a more performatory kind of thing to do. Or this would have been you being in more of a director's role as opposed to a teacher's role.*
>
> *I don't want to use the word discipline, but we had problems basically setting them straight about what things may or may not be acceptable or what type of thinking. And Dr. Fulani was always very supportive of our being really firm—like this isn't going to work in the real world, so it's not gonna work here either.*

> *We don't accept "bad" behavior, so to speak. You talk about it. You don't try to make a person feel bad in front of other people, but you have to dialogue about it.*

Fundraising and Placement of Interns. In addition to development and delivery of the program, Associates are integrally involved in fundraising to support DSY. They each contribute $1,000 personally, and view it as making an investment in DSY. On top of that, they are involved in a variety of fundraising efforts. They work closely with the development staff, who provide whatever tools they need. Many are involved in soliciting support from their own companies:

> *In my company last year we had a matching program. One of the owners of the company has become a good supporter of DSY and that helps me a lot a in my fundraising activities. He even mentioned in a company-wide meeting that whatever I was able to raise in my own efforts, he would match dollar for dollar. I think he was equally happy when he wrote up the check. That was great! We'll see what he does this year.*

Evaluation and Revision of the Program. The structural model of DSY is a tier system that has a variety of levels of involvement and commitment. The Professional Associates suggested that the clear definitions of roles and the fluidity of contact between those with different levels of responsibility help in the effectiveness of the program:

> *Although there is that tier system, you still feel very connected with the people that are basically in charge.*

They also stressed the adaptability of the program and its directors:

> *We make suggestions because I feel the program evolves. We help to create and we keep changing it based on what we see. For example, one time we developed this interview workshop and we did it, but the next semester we didn't do it and the young people went on their mock interviews and they didn't perform so well. So Dr. Fulani and Pamela Lewis were like, "Let's put that back in there." They were open when we suggested it, because we didn't feel that the students had performed as well and we would like them to.*

The people that are involved in the program reflect on it and change it. They have been very active participants in what DSY has become. They recognized that suggestions for improving DSY included those that they were already implementing, and those that they would hope to enact in the future.

Motivation. Why do Program Associates continue to devote time and energy to the program? In their conversations, the Associates cited a variety of reasons:

- the relationships that they develop with the young participants
- the high level of interaction
- the opportunity to see the success of the program
- the personal growth that comes from interacting with students and with the leadership of the program

The Program Associates talked about the relationships they form with DSY students and the high level of interaction:

> *I got an email today from one of the kids who graduated from our class. He is interning at ITG, where we did our workshops. And he has been writing me intermittent emails throughout, and they're so sweet. You build relationships with the kids that are just very gratifying, lovely.*
>
> *One of the reasons why I was very drawn to the Development School was the level of interaction. I feel that we're able to impact more young people more directly. I don't do it just for the gratification, but it is incredibly gratifying to see the work in progress. I don't see the end result because these are young people and they have their whole lives ahead of them. I think that we're able to see and experience the impact over a longer period of time. You get more contact, more interaction.*

While the Associates valued the personal relationships and interaction, they also stressed that the program is not about creating strong personal ties with one or two of the interns. They said that sometimes they have a pull to be closer to a particular young person.

> *It's not at all a part of it. It's not what we do in DSY, and people have a hard time with that sometimes. We've done some work on that in our training because, you know, it's not a Big Brother/Big Sister program. You're not teaching one kid a whole lot of stuff. You're teaching a lot of kids a little bit—all of us are. And it's gratifying to do that—tremendously gratifying.*

Program Associates praise the continuity of involvement that is promoted by DSY. Because of that continuity, Program Associates are privileged to see their students go on to successful lives:

> *We've gone all the way from when we met them in the interview to they've gone through the program, they've had their internships, and some of them are in college. They come back and volunteer, so it's so nice to see their development.*

The Program Associates shared some specific stories about how the transformative effect of the program keeps them involved:

> *Well I think about a couple of young people where in the beginning they're supposed to get up on stage at the orientation. Some of them are so fearful of speaking in public, or just maybe they don't know how to relate well to other people. And by the end they've come out of their shell a lot. They speak at the graduation, their friends are applauding them, and they now*

> *have like a social group. That's a really nice thing. I think that's been the case with quite a few.*

While the Program Associates do not live in the same communities as the DSY students, nor share the culture of their neighborhoods, through other political of artistic activities, they can have connections with some of these neighborhoods. With respect to the effect of the program on DSY students' communities, they said:

> *I do a lot of political work in addition to the volunteer work that I do for DSY, so I have maybe some sense of that I think. But I don't even know if you need that. I think you can just see that the kids change. And I've changed, and I can see that it has an impact on my sphere. So it has to be that it impacts on their communities, their circles, and their lives. I just think it has to.*

With respect to the future of DSY, Program Associates suggested that the growing number of program participants required an increased number of Program Associates, which would free the Directors to focus on the future of the organization and to implement new programs and ideas. For example, it was the Directors who came up with the idea of having a company adopt a whole class:

> *They came up with this new thing about having a company adopt a class. And we've talked about getting companies to adopt a whole class of interns, so we would brainstorm about these things and even work with them about what they would present if they get in the companies, from the perspective of what the CEO would like to hear in two minutes or less.*

This example also shows how the Directors mine the knowledge of the Program Associates to better understand the corporate environment and create better strategies to make their program attractive to corporate supporters.

When asked how they see the program growing, the Professional Associates commented as follows:

> *Well, we definitely need to have more classes, but we still need the infrastructure for the classes. You know, if you have more classes, you have to have a lot more people giving the sessions. So just having more money isn't necessarily the [only consideration], because you need the placements and everything.*
>
> *Space—the new facility. I think the thing is to decide how we would be able to use it to increase the amount of classes that we're able to do.*

The Program Associates discussed tension between whether the "bottom line" should be to increase the number of young people they serve or to provide the current number of participants an even richer experience.

These Program Associates clearly reflect the wish that the resources that they enjoy be more equitably distributed. They are clearly pleased with the effects of the program to which they dedicate so much of their time and energy. They feel that their influence goes beyond the students that they work with to the communities in which the students live. The power of DSY is both its "success stories" for DSY students as well as their influence on a whole social network.

> *Even though some of them [DSY students] are involved in school activities and successful, some of them don't really have a success story before they get into the program. They graduate; they get this internship. So they're exposed to all these things that they take back to their community. There's one story that was such an eye-opener for me. This young lady who did the mock interview in my office had never seen the World Trade Center. And then a number of them were talking about how people—whole areas of their community—had never seen the World Trade Center. That is mind-boggling. Just the perspective that they're all coming into New York and becoming part of another environment. They are going to tell those stories to people and just be more understanding of how things work.*

Nature and Quality of Participation

Who are the DSY participants? In an overview of one DSY class of 18 participants, we can say that the students come from all the boroughs of New York City, but predominantly from Brooklyn and the Bronx. They come from a variety of big and small schools, with the most coming from DeWitt Clinton, Erasmus Hall, and Long Island City. Others come from large schools like Lehman and Washington Irving, and still others from the newer small community schools like Freedom Academy, Math and Science Technology, Business Magnet School, and Law Gov't and Community Service.

The majority of the students are African American, though Hispanic students are well represented as well as Asian and Arabic students. The average age at application is 16, making the average age of participation 17. Females are represented 2:1 in this cohort.

As a group, they have impressive credentials. The vast majority can report that they have earned honors in academics, community service, and/or sports. More than half have received academic honors, from being inducted into the honor society to special achievement awards for excellence in specific subject areas. A quarter of the applicants have received awards for outstanding participation in community service. A few have received awards for participation in sports and the arts. About a third of the applicants report being active in church life, many with church choirs and other church-based service programs. A quarter were involved in school-based development programs. Several of the students were active in student government, including a class president and vice president. However, one quarter of the students report receiving no awards or recognition of any kind.

What do students hope to gain from participating in the DSY training program? Students had four main categories of goals: (1) independence, (2) gaining general learning and new experiences, (3) leadership, and (4) skills related to the workplace.

Students who talked about being independent wrote that they would be interested in "being their own boss." In general, students are worried about making it on their own. Many can look towards little financial support from their parents when they graduate from high school. The looming independence is worrisome and a real challenge for many of these students. They want not only to be independent, but see their family as needing the resources they can bring in. This sets up a struggle as to whether they use the resources they have to go to school or to help support their family.

In the category of general learning and new experiences, students mention broad categories of learning. For example:

> *I hope to gain new experience and learn new thinking that will help me in the near future. Also, I want to be able to apply what I learn in this program to everyday life.*

Another wrote:

> *I hope to gain the experience that will help me in later years and also the knowledge that I can use to make a better life for myself and others who believe in me.*

We again see the concern that students indicate for their role in helping their families towards a better life.

A majority of the applicants mention leadership skills. One wrote that "I want to become a role model"; another that "I want to build my character as a leader in general." Still another writes:

> *I hope to learn how to become a better leader and to encourage today's youth to do the same. Many adults think they know what the average teen goes through on a day-to-day basis, but many are clueless. This is a totally different day and age from when they grew up. Many think they have changed and that the minds of today's youth are very advanced. I believe that if one young person stands up, the rest will soon follow. Many young adults in today's society have the qualities and ambitions of a leader. Unfortunately, due to issues such as peer pressure and the basic mentality of today's youth, many qualified leaders are led astray. I would like to be a leader to my peers and lead them to a path of success.*

The largest category of goals is that of business-related skills. Some spoke of the general business world, "I hope to learn some working skills and more," while others were more specific. Some mentioned communication skills and how to "sell myself more effectively." One student said, "I want to learn what to expect from a good job." Several applicants had more focused goals, "In this program I hope to gain a lot of tips in the stock trade business which will help me in my goal to be a stock trader," as well as "I want to own my own law firm in the future."

The students' ability to articulate their goals was varied widely. While one student wrote, "I want to gain control on how to be a management or computer science and to be a leader of any program," another illustrated the other end of the continuum, "I hope to gain knowledge of the business world and experience working with other students who have interests close to or exactly like mine."

What does this say about the program? One interesting aspect is the successful melding of typical high-achievers with those who are not. The program works equally well for students at any point along the continuum of "worldliness." For those students who have never experienced success, this will be an entry ramp to seeing themselves in a new light. For those students who come to the program with a set of successful experiences, the program can be a challenge to move to the next level.

Another indicator of the success of the program is the level of recidivism. These DSY students are well represented in the ranks of ASTSN volunteers who produce and organize the All Stars talent shows. They continue to be major organizers of the functions that support the new DSY participants. Becoming a part of a big family is an attractive aspect of the program, and students are eager to take on greater responsibility for running the organization.

Reactions of Participants

Beginning Participants

The following comments come from 11 participants in a DSY Current Participant Focus Group. The group included 7 young women (1 Asian and 6 African Americans) and 4 young men. (1 Asian, 1 Latino, 2 African Americans). We talked with them as they were preparing to begin their internship. These young people joined the DSY for a variety of reasons, some relating to specific skill development and others to exposure to new experiences. Among the reasons were "to learn how to write a resumé, "to learn how to interview," "to do something different," and "because it was free." Other reasons included, "Because I needed some diversity. I wanted to experience something different." Another added, "I wanted something that was meaningful where I could actually learn skills needed for life." One young woman stated, "There are only Black and Latino kids at my school. [In DSY] I learned about other cultures. Like this one girl who was Chinese or Japanese didn't even know about hair weaves."

Students begin the DSY experience with a variety of expectations and apprehensions, such as

> *I'm excited about it, but I may have to really work! I like it better when I'm wearing comfortable clothes. I am worried how I will perform in my new costume.*

Another young man said,

> *I'm nervous. When I went for my interview I went in through the wrong door. And when I got there, I saw a whole bunch of people in front of computers. The guy that interviewed me was wearing jeans! Then this guy showed me my office, which was a space between two cabinets. My room at home looks better than that! I'm from the Bronx. I don't know how I will act in my new job.*

Another young woman reacted,

> *I'm excited about it because the area was so beautiful! They were all so nice to me, even though I didn't have to interview. The place is so nice.*

Students have an understanding of the societal problems that propelled the creation of DSY and the theories about development that ground the DSY program:

> *There's an apparent gap in the minority community [between the white world and the minority world]. It's like two different worlds. It's like the other New York. It brings the two worlds together. Someone saw that and tried to correct it by trying to bridge those worlds.*

In illustrating the central position of performance theory in the curriculum, one participant commented on its pervasive importance:

> *They focused on performance. It is the basic thing they focus on. You learn how to adapt to different environments. They are trying to overcome misconceptions. We thought we never could talk to a person from a different race.*

The importance of "worldliness" was also stressed by participants:

> *They introduced us to a lot of people that we would have never met. They took us to places we had never been before.*

Students reacted strongly to what they saw as the expression of deep respect for their opinions and ideas by the DSY staff:

> *They make you better. They want your opinion to matter. When you come here, by the end of the program, it makes you more open.*

> *They allowed us to express our opinions. Even now we are reflecting on what we experienced.*

Participants identified aspects of the DSY program that had the most value for them. For some, the rewards were more personal in terms of skills gained:

> *The opportunities to do something and learn skills that you use and learn things about yourself.*

Other participants indicated that the exposure to a different world was the most valuable:

> *We never stayed in one place. [In our former experience] We see the buildings but we never go inside. People would stare at us when we went in. We got a lot of exposure to the business world. We learned about companies like MTV.*

Others indicated that the experience of belonging to a supportive community that has value in the world outside the sphere of their family and neighborhood was the most valuable part of the experience.

Changes the participants noticed because of their involvement in the DSY Program had to do more with their level of shyness and participation in groups. For example, one participant mentioned,

> *I am less shy. I participate more in school, like I'll read an essay in front of everybody.*

Another participant stated that the program helped him in clarifying things he already knew:

> *Like I thought we already knew how to dress up before I joined, but I learned I really didn't know so much. So the program clarified a lot of things.*

For one young woman, the program helped her in a small way:

> *I feel I can ask questions. Since I asked more questions then, I learned more. It helped me in a small way.*

Another participant said the program helped her in her economics class at school:

> *It helped me in economics class because we had to write a resumé and the program taught us how to do that. So the teacher used my resumé as an example to the class of what a resumé should look like.*

Students have some sense that their involvement with the DSY is for the long run. They saw themselves giving back to the program and society by helping to promote the program in their communities, staying involved, and making a difference. One participant illustrated the strong sense of community identification:

> *I would give somebody [from DSY] a job or one of these guys could give one of my kids a job. We all volunteer, so we've done something already that has had an impact.*

All of the participants plan to be successful and expect to help fund the program in the future. One young woman commented,

> *I will be a judge and have seven kids. I want to have money. I want to be a Program Associate. I'll give money to the program. I will donate because I see that the money is not going to waste. I don't want to work at McDonald's because I have a lot of pride in myself. People don't believe me, but I will be working in a corporation. They don't believe me.*

Students Interviewed During Their Internship

The following comments are from two participants in DSY during their 2002 summer internship at Blaylock & Partners. The two interns, Emanuel and Krystal, were joined by a staff member who devoted a major part of her time to the company's involvement with DSY.

The interns talked about their responsibilities for the firm, which included filing, sorting, organizing data, work with Excel, auditing, reception, and organizing files. They included in the list of things they learned in their internships specific business skills such at auditing, planning, budgets, and filing. More generally they talked about other aspects of their learning experience. The first on Emmanuel's list was learning about the backgrounds of the other employees. They learned to go to different staff members for advice on how to do their jobs, as well as on how to plan their schooling and future career. Krystal identified learning to work in a professional environment and getting comfortable in a corporate setting as being at the top of her list. In addition, she listed such things as learning to be patient and take on challenges. She will be a senior next year and used her contacts with the staff to get advice on how to pick colleges.

The most challenging aspect of the internship for Krystal was performing as the receptionist during a week when the receptionist was out. She had to transfer calls for a lot of people, and there were no complaints. Emmanuel found the tediousness of auditing to be the biggest challenge. They both agreed that the most enjoyable part of the internship was lunch. That was when they got a chance to meet a lot of different people. It was fun and made it easier to work there. They both agreed that the company was made up of a good group of people.

In terms of what they believe they will take with them from this experience, on the top of the list for both was confidence. They proved to themselves and others that they are capable of performing a variety of needed skills. Although they experienced ups and downs and a variety of moods as well as a variety of different activities, the experience was positive. They take with them the skills of focusing, organizing, and prioritizing. Having so many different things to do and having to decide what was at the top of the list and what at the bottom was a new experience. They had many positive things to say about the DSY staff and their contributions to young people. Their support and advice were sought and valued. They were especially appreciative of the opportunity to be in a corporate environment and to learn to deal with different personalities.

The staff member also talked about what the professionals take from their experience with the interns. She was struck by the reminder of "What it's like to be young, and carefree. Looking over their prom pictures, it makes me think back." She is a graduate of Hunter College who then worked in retail for 15 years. Also, she has a daughter that is 2 and feels that she needs to keep up to speed with "what's going on for young people" so she will be prepared.

DSY Postgraduates

The following statements are from a group of past participants in DSY that included 4 males (all African Americans) and 4 females (3 African Americans, 1 Latina). They represent every DSY graduating class since its inception. All but one are currently attending college, either part time or full time. The colleges they attend include SUNY Stony Brook, City College, School for Visual Arts, Amherst College, and LaGuardia Community College. They are preparing for careers in psychology, anthropology, medicine, and computer science. These students are also involved in part-time work and / or volunteering with DSY. One works at the Brooklyn Museum, and another works in a research lab at Columbia University. One young woman has a permanent part-time position with Merrill Lynch, the company where she did her internship. Another is currently working full time in a bank.

The students described their internship experiences:

> *I worked for an Internet Marketing company and I expected to do a lot of things on the first day. I came dressed in a suit and stockings, and my supervisor told me not to come back dressed like that! I learned that a corporate office doesn't have to be like that. I was assistant to the CEO, and I didn't expect that a corporation could be so laid back. It was different.*
>
> *When I first got to Merrill Lynch I was disappointed because I was filing this and that. They were not trying to develop me. I was a servant just filing papers, but now I don't do that. I finished it and it was okay.*
>
> *I worked at the Internet Design School in Soho. It was a very small company, so I worked with the CEO. I helped him push their products. I*

> *felt I was part of their team. But in a bigger company like Merrill Lynch, you may get lost. It depends on the type of environment.*
>
> *I was more interested in the sciences, so I worked at Mt. Sinai. They tried hard to introduce me to the medical part of it, but I mostly sat in the doctor's office. I didn't do much. I read a lot.*
>
> *My experience was very different. I did my internship with Inroads. I was interviewing with NBC. The experiences that I had in the workshops really helped me a lot in my internship. I had to teach people how to give presentations. I had to learn to work with different people, so I changed performances all the time. I was a little conceited when I started working because I thought I already knew how to interview.*
>
> *I worked at an advertisement company where space was a big issue. So one of the first things I had to do was organize their space. They also involved me in the business part of the advertisement. I sat in on different staff meetings and pitch meetings. I interviewed people about different products around NYU. I stayed there for a year.*

The students were questioned concerning the impact of DSY on their academic achievement. The impact, though not always direct, was acknowledged by all of them. For some, the impact was direct and immediate:

> *I was at Credit Suisse Bank. I was an internet research manager. I participated in trading stocks, in a little part of it. They helped me prepare for my Regents Exams because I had failed. They helped me study for my History Regents, and I passed with an 85.*

For others the effects were indirect. The effects identified included interaction, defining of goals, increased confidence in speaking in public, and direct support with important resources:

> *It's hard to say. It indirectly impacted me. It was a good impact. It helped in the way I interacted with people in College. It helped me as a person but not directly in school."*
>
> *It helped me to define that I wanted to be in business.*
>
> *I met the CEO at a cocktail party, and I told him that I wanted to work with him. Dr. Fulani had so much of an impact about what I know I can do. But in my internship, they had a big interest in me. They always made sure that I had something to do. They even got me a computer for when I was starting college. So I would say that yes, it had an impact on my academics.*

This group believed that DSY does not have as great an impact on their communities as the All Stars.

> *All Stars is giving kids something to do on Saturdays all day. And it does deter them from doing something negative. Some kids say, "I never thought I could do this." A lot of people are in a state of desperation. They see people who are not working or going to school and have the hottest cars and*

> *clothing. This is a big conflict and parents and teachers are not doing enough, it is sad to say.*

These participants understood the theoretical underpinnings of DSY to be performance, continuous development, and identity. In their comments, they tended to focus on the application that had meaning for them. One participant reflected the core of activity theory in her comment:

> *[DSY] is a place to get ready, to learn. It's always do something, do something. And in the process you learn who you are as a person.*

Another identified development as a central theory:

> *You never stop developing. Never settle. Struggling makes me strong. We keep doing it until we do it better.*

They admitted that many of the DSY students did not read the assigned chapters of the Newman book, *Let's Develop*, used as a text in the DSY curriculum. They felt that was not a problem, since the content was addressed in the lessons.

These DSY graduates commented on how exposure to different people and environments is important in creating your own sense of identity. One commented that the program asks you to "Forget what you think you know about a group of people. We're here to build and create." They discussed the idea of identity in relation to the expectations of their behavior as a member of an ethnic group and as a young person. A discussion of the ways in which the media dictates young peoples' behavior ensued: "The public message is we will never make something of our selves." The images that are directed to minority teenagers in the media, cause them to say, "They already think I'm that way, so let's be that way!" They also spoke of the conflicting messages they got from the media, music, books, and the different environments in which they live: "This program helped me direct my focus as to what I wanted to be like." More than one participant clearly wanted a chance to mold the media in a way that represents young people positively. One young man sees the work of the All Stars in the media and documentaries as doing just that and says, "I want to do that too."

Many of the participants commented that they did not fit in with groups in their high schools or colleges:

> *I'm not a typical kid from Queens. I don't like the kind of music that other kids liked. I did not hang with them. I was a round peg in a square hole.*

They were uncomfortable with the segregation in their college cafeterias:

> *When I went away to school I was disturbed by the stereotypes people had of me. In the dining hall, students would segregate themselves. I began to*

> *start listening to Spanish music, which I never did at home. Then I decided to try and break the barrier.*

For many of the students, their identity as a member of DSY and the All Stars provided an alternative to fitting into those narrow groups.

As these students take on more of the responsibilities of running DSY, they look to Dr. Fulani and Pamela A. Lewis as role models. They appreciate Dr. Fulani's ability to remember who you are. They like the teasing, being greeted with a smile: "That is something you remember."

The participants had quite a few suggestions for DSY. They were astute observers of the work environments in which they were placed and clearly saw issues of gender and ethnicity reflected in their companies. One student reflected on the relationships in the hospital where she worked:

> *Diversity is not just race, but gender as well. Everyone who ran the hospital was male. All the assistants were females.*

Another intern suggested:

> *Companies used [for placement of interns] should reflect a multicultural environment. You find some companies and departments are all White. If you look for it, you can find a department where minorities are in the same area. You had to reflect [on that situation], which was interesting."*

Other interns suggested that the DSY should find successful small businesses, looking in fields besides corporate America. Commenting that "The corporate environment is a little harsh, not developmental," they suggested that DSY should try harder to match students' interests with the internships and try to keep track of where the interns were being put: "Not in the mail room."

These former DSY graduates planned to give back to society through their professional work and through volunteerism. They agreed that one of the greatest ways you can give back is by volunteering, and they do this for DSY, the All Stars, and many other projects as well. They work on the streets in their neighborhoods marketing the All Stars and recruiting performers for the All Stars Talent Show Network. They also work in the Back to School program that brings corporate sponsors to the shows, and in many other DSY and ASTSN events. Some hoped to give back through their art. One participant commented:

> *There was so much involvement of other people's work in DSY, and I didn't pay anything. I want to help and reach out to more young people.*

Another said:

> *I hope one day you can read somewhere what I wrote or see a movie or a piece of theatre, and see I was successful. Because I found a path I chose on my own. I had the guts to try and do it and I did it.*

The reactions of participants to their experiences at DSY reveal several important themes. These include the development of more "worldliness"; feeling respected and listened to; the development of a feeling of "belonging"; validation of the knowledge they bring to the experience; stability; more confidence and ease in interaction with peers and adults; and an overall sense of optimism and confidence about their future. Equally impressive was the overall sense of debt and gratitude that the students feel towards the organization and the individuals that gave them an opportunity to succeed.

Observer Impressions

Fitting In vs. Changing the World

Some critics of the DSY program argue that the DSY is about "fitting in" to corporate America, not changing the world. When students were asked about this, they said, "It's about both. They teach you how to change the world, how to change stereotypes, and also about fitting in, like how to dress." One young woman observed, "In order to change the world you have to fit in first." Another agreed, "It teaches us how to change ourselves and how to perform to adapt to the environment." The performance theory helps young people understand that they can act a part without falling victim to their performance. This is a central concept for all people of color and economic underclasses: groups without power understand why the world needs to change; those with power, who benefit from these inequalities, are dedicated to supporting the status quo. The idea that a group of young people with the consciousness of the underclass can rise to positions of power and maintain their commitment to social change is a powerful idea. Furthermore, these young people are surrounded by people who are role models in having done just that.

Re-Creating a Culture: A Regenerative Model

A central element of the effectiveness of the DSY model is the continuous cycle of growth that constantly prepares both participants and Program Associates to be stronger contributors to the organization. The training of the volunteers is recognized by the participants as serving a dual purpose:

Participants in DSY / ASTSN see their organizations as a training ground for leaders. The leaders are well aware that their performance is the one that will stand as a model for the entire community. From every observation I have made and comments I have heard, they strive to act with the deepest integrity in all their decisions. When speaking with Dr. Newman concerning the concept of leadership embodied in ASTSN / DSY, he was clear that "A leader is the one who gives the most." This generative conception of leadership clearly influences the integrity of the organization at all levels. Those who aspire to leadership have a clear path to take—become more giving.

Additionally, the leaders encourage others to take on leadership responsibilities within the organization. As one young participant said, any of them could go up to any of their leaders and say, "I want to do what you do. No one will ever say no." In their work with young people, they consistently strive to re-create and regenerate their organization.

Commitment

No one who enters the doors of the All Stars Project and its many programs can fail to be impressed by the positive energy that is generated by this organization. There are important tacit expectations of each person who enters the organization's space, that is, that they participate in the ethic of hard work and commitment.

> *I think the structure works a lot too because everybody is very committed to it. If people feel they have to take a sabbatical, they know enough to say that this isn't the semester for me. I'll try to come back when I can. That makes it work for me because everyone's good on their word. They're committed, and they're really interested.*

The ethic of hard work and commitment runs through the organization from the very top to the bottom. From the first DSY interview in which the students participate, it is made clear to them that this organization takes itself seriously and expects those who join it to do the same. Students who arrive more than 5 minutes late are not interviewed. This sends a very clear message to each and every student about the clarity of expectations. The sense that all have made a commitment and therefore it is important to honor it is central to the success of DSY. Program associates commented on the power of commitment:

> *Just by making a commitment that they (DSY participants) see we've made makes a big impression. Some of them thought we were getting paid for this. I thought that was adorable. Yeah. Coming back from a workshop they were saying how did you get involved? And we were talking, and they thought we got paid for this.*

> *I think the structure works a lot too because everybody is very committed to it. If people feel they have to take a sabbatical, they know enough to say that this isn't the semester for me. I'll try to come back when I can. That makes*

> *it work for me because everyone's good on their word. They're committed they're really interested.*
>
> *But there are some people that just go above and beyond each and every time. I think everybody, though, gives.*

And another program associate summed up the discussion on commitment:

> *Yeah, I think you have to be on the same page. To be part of the organization, you have to be.*

The impressions reported by this observer clearly support the organization's claims to successful and supportive intervention in the lives of developing young people. The dedication to a transformational developmental model, the continual encouragement of young people to fill positions in the organization and carry on the work of those who trained them, and the pervasive ethic of commitment and hard work among staff and volunteers alike clearly characterize the best that the DSY program has to offer.

VII. Discussion

ASTSN/DSY as a Form of Supplementary Education

The concept of supplementary education advanced by Gordon (1999) focuses on family and community activities and learning experiences that support academic development, but occur during nonschool hours. He argues that supplementary education is an important complement to the learning that takes place in school. Further, he identifies the unequal distribution of health, human, polity, and social capital as a major non-school factor restricting the effectiveness of schools. Recognizing that redistribution of these kinds of capital may not be an immediately viable solution, he does propose that involving children in supplementary education activities that complement academic learning can be an effective strategy for increasing their academic growth and development (Gordon & Bridglall, 2002), despite the absence of access to these varieties of human resource development capital.

Unfortunately, for low-income students, opportunities to participate in supplementary enriching activities are unavailable or underutilized in comparison to the opportunities available to some European Americans and Asian Americans from middle to high socioeconomic backgrounds. In the households of students from high socioeconomic families, students benefit from literate adults, computers, books, magazines, journals, and the academic support of siblings and parents. They also have more access to community resources such as adult social support, clubs, private lessons, and cultural activities. For this reason, proponents of the supplementary education movement advocate that all children should have accessible and available to them these supplements to ensure and optimize their academic and personal success.

Reviews of Current Studies on Supplementary Education

Much of the current research on youth development and extracurricular activities strongly suggests that participation in quality out-of-school programs is linked with both short and long term predictors of positive development. This literature claims a strong positive relationship between participating in extracurricular activities, on the one hand, and school achievement and college admission, on the other. For instance, in a study of extracurricular activities as predictors of performance on the SAT, Everson (in press) found that extracurricular activities are estimated to contribute roughly 20 to 30 points to the SAT scores of disadvantaged and minority students. Other benefits found in the literature include improvements in self-esteem, interpersonal skills, and social networks, and a decrease in gang involvement, delinquency, and other risky behaviors. This relationship becomes stronger with higher levels of participation in greater numbers of activities, especially involvement in leadership-oriented activities (Eccles & Templeton, 2002).

Youth organizations and programs provide adolescents with social and academic support, mentoring, life-skills training, constructive alternatives to substance abuse, irresponsible sexual activity and violence, and enriching opportunities to contribute to their communities and to society. Many youth programs are successfully propelling youth to postsecondary education, providing opportunities to those who drop out of school, and reducing illegal behavior. Most importantly, out-of-school programs and organizations offer a safe and beneficial environment during the time when neither parents nor schools are available to provide supervision (Carnegie Corporation, 1992). According to the National Institute on Out-of School Time (NIOST), there are close to 8 million children ages 5 to 14 that regularly spend time without adult supervision. This figure includes 4 million children between the ages of 5 and 12 and another estimated 4 million young people ages 13 to 14. What is more alarming is that these numbers increase significantly as children get older (National Institute on Out of School Time, 2001).

Among the most frequently cited positive outcomes for quality after-school programs are improved school attendance, higher levels of academic achievement, improved attitudes toward school, and decreased dropout rates. More particularly, youth who are involved with extracurricular athletics and fine arts activities significantly reduce their likelihood of dropping out of school (McNeal, 1995). Other desirable benefits for young people who participate in after-school programs are improvements in social skills, communication skills, and teamwork. After school programs have also shown positive social outcomes for students who live in high-crime and low-income neighborhoods. The research literature points out that having a steady relationship with one or more caring adults, such as an after-school program staff member, contributes to a student's resiliency (Miller, 1995).

Some studies of supplementary education have come to less positive conclusions. One example is a recent study commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education (2003) and conducted by Mathematica Policy Research, Inc. and Decision Information Resources, Inc. According to this national evaluation study of 21st Century Community Learning Centers, after-school programs are not associated with significant changes in academic achievement, the completion of homework, or other indicators of improved academic adjustment. The study indicates that children do not attend these programs regularly and that program content is uneven.

The contrast in these findings may be related to the nature of the several studies. The more positive findings come from meta evaluations of a variety of selected small studies, while the Mathematica study is a single investigation of several programs that reflect the status of the field at this time. Given the variations in the character and quality of the programs included, it is not surprising that less than positive findings are the result. It is interesting, however, that the Mathematica study did result in some positive findings. Among these are increased parental involvement at their child's school and in helping with homework, time spent at school in a variety of organized activities (e.g., clubs), and nonparent adult supervision after school. In addition, students who participated in the after-school programs frequently were more likely to report feeling better about themselves and less likely to feel lonely than students who attended infrequently.

Representative Supplementary Education Programs

In the emerging field of supplementary education, the different types of supplementary activities can be classified according to the program content and as either implicit or explicit interventions. They can also be classified according to the nature of the organization that sponsors the intervention or service (Gordon, in press). Implicit interventions include incidental activities such as parenting, nutrition, dinner talk, parental employment, participation in family decision-making, reading along with children, social networks, travel, and environmental supports (Mercer, 1973: Wolf, 1966). These activities support the academic and personal development of children even though that is not their explicit intent. Explicit interventions, on the other hand, include activities that are deliberately intended to create intellectually stimulating opportunities, such as one-on-one tutoring, Saturday academies, and SAT preparation. Other such activities include enriched academic instruction, acceleration, remediation, academic socialization, and some recreational, religious, and cultural activities that have strong pedagogical components.

Explicit Intervention Programs

Advancement Viá Individual Determination (AVID) can be classified as an explicit educational program. AVID is a nationwide tutoring program that targets C-average students who would be the first in their families to attend college. AVID's mission is to improve the number of underachieving, low-income, and underrepresented middle and high school students who take college-prep courses and attend college.

High School PUENTE in California is a content-based program that prepares Latino students to enroll and stay in college by increasing their skills and aspirations through writing assignments, college counseling, and mentoring. Puente's goal is to increase the number of educationally underserved students who stay in school, enroll in college, earn college degrees, and return to the community as leaders and mentors to future generations.

Implicit Intervention Programs

Thousands of organizations (national, local, independent, private religious, private secular, sports, commercial, and public) as well as churches, libraries, parks and recreation departments, senior citizens' groups, and youth-development programs provide a wide variety of programs and activities that comprise supplementary education. Some programs have a broad range, while others focus mostly on arts and humanities.

Totally Cool, Totally Art (TCTA) is a nationally recognized free art program for students in grades 7–12 offered in recreation centers. TCTA provides visual art classes such as drawing, sculpting plaster, video directing and computer graphics. One of the goals of this program is to expand the teamwork and communication skills of young people through arts education.

Moving in the Spirit (MITS) in Atlanta is teaching at-risk inner city youth the values of respect, commitment, accountability, and responsibility through dancing. The young people participate in workshops and performances conducted in community centers, shelters, elementary schools, churches and summer camps. The goal of MITS is to enhance the intellectual development of the youth, increase their self-esteem and empower them to make positive decisions.

Youth Orchestra Program in Washington, D.C., offers young people the opportunity to study classical music with professional musicians and perform in one of the program's five orchestras. Most of the youth who are selected for this merit-based program enroll in college, many on scholarships. Many of the minority musicians in professional orchestras around the nation have been participants in the DC Youth Orchestra.

Dance—The Next Generation, sponsored by the Sarasota Ballet of Florida, admits at-risk children who are aspiring dancers and provides them with seven years of ballet training and the opportunity to obtain a full scholarship to college. Participants also receive assistance with homework, nutrition, social etiquette, dance history, and public speaking.

Implicit/Explicit Programs

Koreatown programs in Los Angeles, a community-created parallel school system outside regular schools, combine implicit and explicit interventions (Bhattacharyya, in press). Supplementary education programs vary from early childhood care to homework supervision to preparation for college entrance tests. Other benefits include home-cooked Korean meals, access to books and computers, tutorial services, and field trips. Services are provided in various facilities such as schools, homes, and faith-based institutions. Bhattacharya also found that Koreatown has a wide range of youth-oriented schools (e.g., Korean Language schools, *hagwans* (study places), and studios for music, dance, and karate). Korean families rely heavily on supplementary education services, and there appears to be a growing supplementary education economy in the Los Angeles area.

All Stars Talent Show Network (ASTSN) and *Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth (DSY)* are supplementary education programs targeted to reach young people living in areas of New York City that are characterized by high levels of poverty and crime and a dearth of resources. Both programs use performance and presentation of self as central activities. The talent shows are intentionally organized as opportunities for performance, and the 12 weekly "acts" in the Development School for Youth explicitly use indigenous and alien cultures as vehicles for learning to perform and present oneself in different cultural settings. As a byproduct, these young people are also socialized to the culture of the corporate world. These two programs could be classified in either the implicit or explicit categories of supplementary education: while targeted learnings are often implicitly addressed, both programs are also explicitly designed to achieve specific developmental ends.

While this taxonomy of programs is not a perfect classification, it is, nonetheless, one of the first attempts to categorize the multitude of out-of-school activities in the constantly evolving field of supplementary education. The overlaps and duplications in the taxonomy are evident, but they may be necessary in order to capture the varied and dynamic status of this field (Gordon, in press).

The All Stars Project and the Development of Human Resource Capital

The failure of current institutions of education and development to provide opportunities for development and success for low-status young people is the central problem being addressed by the All Stars Project. Too often in our society, the family and community to which a child is born circumscribes the trajectory of his/her life. This failure is illustrated by the strong correlation between ethnicity, class, and SES and various measures of life success. Most of us would agree that a person's life chances should not be limited by the circumstances of his of her birth, but formal educational institutions have not been up to this challenge. The uncoupling of these characteristics is the goal of ASTSN/DSY.

The All Stars Project is inventive in the strategies it uses to enhance the development of young people from the least privileged communities in the cities where they operate. Its enrichment programs provide a supplementary development experience that is focused on the skills and resources that underlie success. It can be described as a "high-performance learning community."

What strategies has ASTSN/DSY used to address this problem? First, they have made accurate assessments of its genesis. Bourdieu (1986) refers to several categories of human resource capital that are indicators of an individual's chances of success. These "capitals," described by Bourdieu and elaborated on by Miller (1995) and Gordon (1999), delineate the constellation of resources available to the society and its members for investment in human development. Gordon (1999) notes that human resource capital is in good supply in the United States, but that "there are critical problems in the distribution of these resources and access to them by most low-status persons" (p. xiv). The table on page 92 details how the All Stars programs develop and enhance the kinds and amounts of capital available to low-status, inner-city young people.

ASTSN/DSY and Academic Achievement

The differential in academic achievement and subsequent success in life between students from high-status families and those from low-status families is unlikely to be solved by schooling alone. While ASTSN/DSY is not directly involved in the development of students' school performance, the supplementary activities in which they participate develop resources necessary for successful school experiences. Wallace (1961) makes some useful distinctions between the varieties of activities that we label with the broad designation of "education." He suggests that there are several layers of educational experiences. Schooling, a formalized and restricted educational experience, is placed in the "enculturation" category, which also includes the lessons we learn from participation in family and community culture. Formal education is not successfully addressing the "enculturation" needs of their poor, low-status students. In ASTSN/DSY, these categories of learning, are

Features of ASTSN/DSY Programs That Enhance the Formation of Human Resource Capital

Kinds of Capital	*Program Features*
HEALTH physical developmental integrity, health, nutritional condition	The ASTSN/DSY curriculum has a positive impact on the affective development and mental health of participants.
FINANCIAL income, wealth, family, community, and societal economic resources available for education	DSY effectively targets financial need in the lives of participants. Besides providing students with the kinds of experiences and training that increases the possibility that they will be financially independent, successful members of society, the program also provides a well-paid internship for one summer. Many students who are headed for college find contacts and employment that provide support long past the duration of the program.
HUMAN social competence, tacit knowledge, and other education-derived abilities as personal or family assets	DSY explicitly addresses this resource through its curriculum, which develops competency in the social patterns of the hegemonic culture, in much the same way that young people from high-status families absorb the language of power and success.
SOCIAL social network relationships, social norms, cultural styles and values	ASTSN/DSY provides participants with a social network and a common set of values that support personal development.
POLITY societal membership, social concern, public commitment, political economy	Students gain polity within the ASTSN/DSY community as well as within the larger community. The program's goal of exposing students to unfamiliar cultures and social settings promotes a growing circle of polity. In addition, students work together to present the organization to the public and to create and participate in sponsored events.
PERSONAL disposition, attitudes, aspirations, efficacy, sense of power	These five aspects of personal capital are supported and developed by the ASTSN/DSY program. They also characterize the young people who self-select for participation in the program. Students who have the disposition to strive are supported in their aspirations for success. The DSY program in many ways, and the ASTSN program in more limited ways, takes these dispositions and aspirations and gives them a base in reality. Experiences of success and affinity with a vital institution combine to give participants a sense of power and agency.
INSTITUTIONAL quality of and access to educational and socializing institutions	The All Stars Project, Inc. contributes institutional capital to low-status youth. While not an institution of formal education, it better fulfills the value added to participants than many of the academic institutions to which these young people are exposed.
PEDAGOGICAL supports for appropriate educational treatment in family, school, and community (Gordon, 1999)	Because they are not wedded to any particular approach, only to particular outcomes, ASTSN and DSY are highly sensitive to the need to adapt their curricula to the needs of the young people they serve.

explicitly delineated as one of the primary hurdles for low-status young people of color.

In addition, the DSY curriculum developers, a collaboration between those that understand the target corporate culture and those that understand the culture of the young people who are being developed, have identified specific behaviors that are crucial to success in the hegemonic milieu of corporate culture. Clearly for observers and evaluators of the program, it is important to differentiate from the skills and behaviors that are explicitly taught in DSY and in ASTSN, and the enculturation that is part of the design, especially of the DSY. The value of students' internships is not necessarily based on the presumption that students will be learning high-level skills that will be directly marketable in the workplace. The value of these internships is better reflected in the enculturation of the interns to the corporate culture.

Samuel J. Proctor, in a private conversation with Edmund W. Gordon, mentioned that a study of the relationship between domestic workers and their employers, found that the enculturation that the domestic workers received in their contacts with successful members of the hegemonic culture was transferred to their children. Thus, the strategies that the workers used to help their children succeed in school and in life were learned in the high-achieving households of their employers. Similarly, the exposure to the corporate world that ASTSN/DSY participants receive can help them to traverse and succeed in various milieus.

ASTSN/DSY Implements Gordon's Targeted Strategies

Gordon suggests that programs of supplemental education, of which ASTSN/DSY are iterations, offer much promise in addressing the achievement gap between high and low-status groups. He targets several strategies that support the development of high-performance learning communities for youth from low-SES backgrounds and/or for students of color (Gordon & Bridglall, 2002). This study has focused on the following set of strategies, which form the core of the ASTSN/DSY approach:

(1) Developing self-understanding and self-management

The implementation of specific interventions designed to enhance students' skills and self-understanding, including:

(a) socialization to the demands of serious workplace engagement

(b) metacognitive competence and metacomponential strategies; understanding of how one thinks and learns; and strategies for using this understanding in the self-regulation of one's learning behavior

(c) intervention—instructional and experiential—that works from strengths to weaknesses

   (d) developing facility in the use of tools and techniques for accessing information, resources, and extended learning experiences

(2) Creating a supportive community context

The facilitation of cooperative learning cadres and social environments that nurture achievement (academic or otherwise) as instrumental to personal and political agency.

   (a) opportunities for young people to take leadership responsibilities

(3) Exposure/Cosmopolitanization

Academic and political socialization to the requirements and rewards of high levels of achievement as instruments of personal agency and social responsibility.

ASTSN/DSY is a strong demonstration of the effectiveness of these strategies *outside* the sphere of formal educational.

Developing Self-Understanding and Self-Management

It has been said that there is nothing more practical than a good theory. The guiding theories, which include social therapy, activity theory, identity play, and performance theory, are palpably present in the strategies and goals of the project. The All Stars Project benefits greatly from the compass provided by the strong theoretical and philosophical grounding, both explicit in the vocabulary and implicit in the personalities, of the organization's founders and directors. Its rich and fertile environment provides the stage on which new organizational ideas can be tested.

In a conversation with the president, Gabrielle Kurlander, she expressed what she sees as the essential contribution that the organization is currently making, and is prepared to make on a greater scale. She also talked about what she feels are important discoveries that unite practice and theory and provide new and more successful approaches to the challenge of human development for young people from nonconducive environments:

> *I feel that we've discovered something. I think that we've made a discovery in the areas that we work in—the areas of learning and human growth and understanding. I think we've made practical discoveries not only theoretical discoveries—day-to-day discoveries that I think are on a par with significant discoveries that have been made in history from Galileo to the cure for polio.*

She goes on to discuss the location of the All Stars Project in terms of a movement towards more effective strategies for development:

> *I think we're part of a movement that's made discoveries that have broken some conventional ways these issues have been looked at. We're experimenting and looking at them in new ways. We are making headway*

> *in populations that nobody has been able to help develop, to help grow and socialize, and to become cosmopolitanized. I feel that we have a responsibility to make that discovery available, for free, to every person who would want it.*

The developmental process at the All Stars Project begins with the assumption that working with young people through their strengths is the most effective strategy for developing the areas in which they are weak. Students come to ASTSN to share their talent—what they do well, their dancing, rapping and singing. The strengthening of the positive aspects of their identification with their own culture creates, or reinforces, a strong base that allows for identity play. This performance approach to development of the young people who make up the ASTSN / DSY cohort works partly through the mechanisms of cognitive dissonance. Students learn to "behave" in a confident and worldly manner. The clash between the young person's conception of themselves and the new ways in which they are being taught to perform creates discomfort and disequilibrium. The push to resolve this dissonance becomes the catalyst for the invention of new self-concepts and performance expectations. They come to believe their own performance.

Creating a Supportive Community Context for Achievement

ASTSN / DSY is dedicated to the creation of a community that supports the development of all its members. This concern for community extends from the young participants to the staff to the volunteers and donors. Through thoughtful caring and creative fundraising, ASTSN / DSY meets the needs of the donors. This community forms a laboratory where lessons in performance may be applied.

Central to ASTSN / DSY is a commitment to treating young people with respect. Young people are given high degrees of responsibility within the organization and expected to perform. As Dr. Fulani explains, these young people are consistently related to, in their schools and other institutions, as unintelligent: little is required of them and little is expected of them. When students are exposed to the message of ASTSN/DSY, as presented by various members of the staff, they are like thirsty people drinking.

Two tenets of participation in ASTSN / DSY that reinforce the success of the community are inclusiveness and self-selectivity. Students who self-select to participate in the program are, to some degree, those who are at a developmental level that will enable them to benefit from that participation. However, to claim that the program selects for young people who would be successful even without the program is a hollow claim. ASTSN/DSY taps into the immense waste of human potential that characterizes the neighborhoods and educational institutions where these young people live their lives. What catalyzes their development is the opportunity to perform—to perform in a constructive setting designed to build young people up, not break them down. Just as the seed does not germinate without the rain, leadership potential does not grow into actuality without an environment that gives participants supportive opportunities to become leaders.

ASTSN/DSY as an Antiviolence Program

In offering an opportunity for young people to be involved in constructive leadership experiences, ASTSN/DSY absorbs some young people who, intersecting with negative environments, may originally have been headed for less constructive leadership roles. The All Stars strategy for promoting antiviolence in crime-ridden communities is complex and effective. A quantitative way of evaluating the impact of the All Stars Project on violence in the communities where they work is not possible. Certainly it has been part of various phenomena that have come together and brought about some positive changes in these neighborhoods. According to "tipping point" theory, we should value each and every positive influence as crucial. The observation that crime rates have dropped significantly in areas where they have had a continual presence cannot be demonstrated causally. However, it should be regarded as an independent positive development that cannot be discounted.

Inclusiveness and self-selectivity are broad egalitarian values that minimize the opportunity for patronizing participants. Young people are not pitted against each other when they are selected for any of the programs. They compete for prizes in the talent shows, but not for the opportunity to perform and grow.

ASTSN/DSY strongly believes that a focus on the affective aspects of development will allow young people to perform to the extent of their capabilities in other areas. The tenet that enhanced performance will provide successively higher bases which feed proximal development is amply born out by research. Participants do not graduate from the program with a sense of reliance on the program to get them where they want to go in life; rather the observer gets the distinct feeling that they are "launched." The benefits of the ASTSN/DSY program appear to be extremely portable.

Consistency Between the Talk and the Walk

The All Stars Project benefits from the great consistency between its conceptual basis and the activities which it sponsors. This is central to the respect young participants extend to ASTSN/DSY leaders and staff. One often hears them commenting about the absence of hypocrisy. The goals and the strategies for achieving them are aligned and clearly reflect the central mission of the organization.

Another central idea is that of commitment. The staff is clearly personally and professionally committed to the goals and strategies of the organization of which they are a part. The underlying tenet of leadership – that those who lead are those who give the most – generates a strong egalitarian ethos. Young people are moved by the fact that the adults that work in the organization are involved in giving, and they strive to emulate that generosity.

What young people find when they come to ASTSN/DSY is a tremendously nurturing community—one that is held together by ties of mutual respect and love. Those young people who spend much of their free time with the All Stars Project come to see it as a big family. This is probably not so much because their ties to the individuals are like that of a family, but because the rules for interaction are more like those of a family than they have experienced with any other institution of which they have been a part. Truly, as Fred Newman has hypothesized, there are new kinds of relationships created among the participants that are not easily categorized or described by our current interpersonal vocabulary.

To sum up, the All Stars Project is a conscious laboratory of generative culture. Political agency is developed illustrating the message "We create our culture, as our culture creates us." The combination of strict, efficient rules of operation and an inclusive ideology of continuing development empowers young people both within and outside the organization. Young people do not "leave" the All Stars Project, they simply leave being young. They become adults there and, in turn, become themselves—a vehicle for the continued redevelopment of the programs.

The two programs being evaluated here play different roles in the creation and re-creation of community. ASTSN has a central role in community building, as it reaches out into low-SES communities and brings in thousands of participants yearly, both young performers and young and adult volunteers.

DSY trolls for participants in other waters: in the high schools of these low status communities, many of them schools with the worst achievement records in the city. The initiation of this program shows great promise. The curriculum, a continually developing entity, still lacks some of the incremental building of skills one upon another that would enhance its already effective delivery. Program Associates work hard to create a sense of continuity from one workshop to another, but some explicit curriculum-based connections should be developed. In addition, while some students indicate that they benefited from reading the text *Let's Develop,* others had difficulty identifying with the characters and contexts used for illustration. We suggest that the organization write its own text, with input from the young people who have come through the program.

VIII. What Makes a High-Quality Supplementary Education Program?

Several reports reviewing high-quality after-school programs suggest that the most effective programs have many features in common. The following list has been adapted from *Coming Up Taller: Arts and Humanities Programs for Children and Youth at Risk* (Weitz, 1996), compiled by the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities; the seminal report *A Matter of Time: Risk and Opportunity in the Out-of-School Hours* (Carnegie Corporation, 1992); and an in-depth literature review by Eccles & Templeton (2002). According to these documents, successful programs for children and youth adhere to the following criteria:

1. Adapt their content to, and build on, the interests of young people in ways that are developmentally appropriate to their changing needs.
2. Acknowledge, respect, and respond to the diverse circumstances and experiences that young people experience.
3. Provide young people with opportunities and tools to succeed.
4. Recruit and invest in highly qualified and diverse volunteer and paid staff to ensure program success.
5. Extend and offer a safe and accessible place for young people to go to in the nonschool hours.
6. Involve parents and work in partnerships with families, community partners, and schools.
7. Advocate strongly for youth and foster a sense of belonging and inclusion.
8. Have high expectations, clear goals, and social norms for their participants.
9. Recognize that positive adult-youth relationships are significant to the success of the program.
10. Specify their program outcomes and evaluate the extent to which these goals are achieved.

We would like to propose an additional criterion:

11. Provide opportunities for participants to contribute to the community.

How Well Do ASTSN and DSY Meet These Criteria?

Like many exemplary programs found in the literature on supplementary education, ASTSN and DSY are serving many different functions in the lives of thousands of young people. They offer access to a wide range of resources such as contacts with influential and professional adults, mentors, computers, artistic equipment, and even food. Similar to documented "effective community-based organizations," the All Stars Project, "engages young people in challenging but fun things to do, offers a safe haven from the dangerous streets, and provides ways of spending free time that contribute significantly to their learning and social development" (McLaughlin, 2000).

In the following table, the degree to which ASTSN and DSY demonstrate the criteria mentioned above has been rated on a scale of 1–5, with 5 being the highest.

Ratings of ASTSN and DSY According to 11 Criteria

Criterion	*ASTSN*	*DSY*
1. Adapt their content to, and build on, the interests of young people in ways that are developmentally appropriate to their changing needs.	3	5
2. Acknowledge, respect, and respond to the diverse circumstances and experiences that young people experience.	4	5
3. Provide young people with opportunities and tools to succeed.	4	5
4. Recruit and invest in highly qualified and diverse volunteer and paid staff to ensure program success.	5	5
5. Extend and offer a safe and accessible place for young people to go to in the non-school hours.	3	4
6. Involve parents and work in partnerships with families, community partners, and schools.	4	4
7. Advocate strongly for youth and foster a sense of belonging and inclusion.	5	5
8. Have high expectations, clear goals, and social norms for their participants.	4	5
9. Recognize that positive adult-youth relationships are significant to the success of the program.	5	5
10. Specify their program outcomes and evaluate the extent to which these goals are achieved.	2	4
11. Provide opportunities for participants to contribute to the community.	5	5

Illustrations

1. *Adapt their content to, and build on, the interests of young people in ways that are developmentally appropriate to their changing needs.*

The ASTSN/DSY programs are explicitly and centrally developmental. Along with valuing the expressions of the participating youth, ASTSN/DSY acknowledges and celebrates the imagination, creativity, and ideas of youth. Participants in ASTSN learn that they can perform as other than who they are. For example, in the talent show, they learn that can perform as supporters of their peers instead of as competitors. DSY students leave the program with many positive new identities and performances and higher expectations about their future.

The young people know that if they want more responsibility in ASTSN, all they have to do is express their interest in learning something new. One participant explained that ASTSN offers many different opportunities to learn and grow:

> *For example, at the shows, you might have some ushers, and some liaisons directing the performance, the seats, and the stage. And then you have some people like, for example, me and Alex, we work backstage handling the mikes, making sure the mikes are good. And me, recently, I have been promoted to Co-Emcee.*

Deidre, a 17-year-old African American remarked:

> *What's so special about it is that other programs don't give you the same chance. Usually you have to work your way up the ladder. But when you come to this program, they already believe in you, that you can do the job and that you have potential.*

2. *Acknowledge, respect, and respond to the diverse circumstances and experiences of young people.*

The All Stars Project clearly recognizes the diversity among young people, especially that based on race, ethnicity, geographic location, family income, gender, and sexual orientation. Their philosophy is one of deep acceptance. The participants respond to the respect they receive by returning that respect to the leaders of the programs.

They also learn that they can develop respectful relationships with each other and with adults, that they can be builders of an organization that allows them to perform with guidance but without censorship:

> *Everyone is really equal and are treated with respect. People don't really get bossed around.*

DSY participants commented on the inclusiveness of the entrance requirements for the DSY program. Contrary to many of the programs that target "minority" students, demonstration of high achievement is not a prerequisite. The only prerequisite is the 250 word essay and "the desire to grow":

> *DSY does not discriminate. Everyone is accepted and that's what's so unique about the program.*

3. *Provide young people with opportunities and tools to succeed.*

ASTSN provides young people in low-income communities with a stage where they can realize their dreams of performing in front of hundreds of people. However, ASTSN is not a talent show where only those with "real" artistic talent are accepted. Instead, ASTSN provides all participating youth with an opportunity to succeed. Anybody and everybody who tries out in the audition is invited to participate in the show. Youth who are not interested in performing on stage are encouraged to participate as ushers or greeters. The program provides all youth with opportunities to shine and discover their unique abilities. Thus, everybody is enabled to excel at something. Everybody is a star.

Similarly, DSY uses performance as the primary technique to explicitly teach young people personal presentation skills, behavior appropriate to corporate culture, how to dress for success, resumé writing, interviewing, and networking skills. These developmental experiences culminate in a paid summer internship in a prominent corporation. In DSY, the young people learn to role-play different identities. For example, in one workshop taught by a trained Program Associate who is an information technology expert in the apparel business, the young people learned about various types of retail companies, supply and demand for products, profitability, merchandising, designing, production, and operations. By the end of the workshop, they were ready to role-play as business entrepreneurs and plan and present their own fashion business.

Another unique aspect of the ASTSN and DSY programs is that they provide opportunities where young people can practice social and intellectual skills that may be useful in various situations including school. Because both programs focus on performance and self-presentation, the young people learn that there are alternative ways of acting in and out of school, on and off the stage, on the streets, or at any event. In DSY they learn they can ask questions and to interact with lawyers and CEO's and that these people are in the program voluntarily because they care about youth. One participant shared how DSY helped her academically:

> *It helped me not to be intimidated by people no matter how high they are. So in College, I was not shy about asking a question in front of 500 people.*

Participants in the ASTSN / DSY learn new languages for communicating. They learn that they can communicate with their bodies and use their voices as tools for projecting their image. They learn to express themselves in new ways that are different and more productive than their habitual forms of interaction with peers and adults.

4. *Recruit and invest in highly qualified and diverse volunteer and paid staff to ensure program success.*

The recruitment and development of paid and volunteer staff is a primary component of the All Stars Project. The structured approach to development of volunteers is exemplary and provides a depth and richness to the program that set it apart from similar organizations. ASTSN is carried forward with a tremendous amount of volunteer labor that is efficient and provides successful support for the performers. DSY has been phenomenally successful in recruiting business professionals to support and develop the program. This success has partly been due to paying attention to the needs of the volunteers—attending to the authentic rewards that keep them committed to the program.

5. *Extend and offer a safe and accessible place for young people to go to in the nonschool hours.*

The physical plant of the All Stars Project includes the small Castillo Theatre and the offices of the staff. This center is small and sometimes cannot meet the needs of the various groups that use it. This problem is solved in two ways. The first is the use of many venues around the city, including high schools for the presentation of All Stars Talent Shows. Groups that participate in the talent shows find their own practice locations within their communities. DSY workshops take place in business locations, freeing the center from the need for meeting spaces and spaces for the various ceremonies. Youth participants appreciate the opportunities to spend their after hours in safe and productive activities and locations:

> *It's good because instead of being on the street it gives you time and a healthy environment to interact with kids your own age.*
>
> *It is a successful antiviolence program because it prevents you from violence and teaches you a way of life. For every moment the participants are with the All Stars or practicing something, they're probably not committing a crime.*

The All Stars Project has recognized the limitations of their present location and has recently purchased a larger building. The organization is currently sponsoring a fundraising drive to support this move. The new center will allow the All Stars Project to offer a wider range of services and meeting places to support their youth programs.

6. *Involve parents and work in partnerships with families, community partners, and schools.*

The All Stars Project focuses primarily on its young participants. That does not diminish its efforts to address the context in which students live their lives, including their families and communities. The young participants are not convinced that the program has a strong effect on their communities:

> *I don't know of many, if any, people in my community who have heard of DSY.*
>
> *Participating in DSY did not get me any more involved in my community than I was before. I don't think DSY has anything to do with community development; rather it focuses on personal development.*

However, the data for crime in the neighborhoods that the All Stars Project has targeted have shown, along with the rest of New York, a notable decrease. Community involvement in the Talent Shows is high, with thousands of community members exposed to the shows' message every year. Efforts to engage the family members of the participants include question-and-answer sessions with Dr. Fulani, advertised at talent shows, and a variety of DSY ceremonies and celebrations to which parents and family members are invited. Despite these efforts, the involvement of parents is sporadic.

The DSY/ASTSN programs use schools as locales for recruitment as well as performance venues. The organization finds that schools are antithetical to development, and it does not attempt to provide services within the sphere of influence of the schools.

7. *Advocate strongly for youth and foster a sense of belonging and inclusion.*

For many ASTSN/DSY participants, commitment to the All Stars "family" takes on a lifelong character. Many of the young people who currently take leadership positions in the organizations think of themselves as "growing up in the All Stars." The easy acceptance and respect that is present among long-term participants is a powerful testimony to the positive benefits of the programs:

> *Having participated in other programs prior to this one, I personally think what makes this program so great is that the staff truly wants to help the participants, I could really feel the difference, the effort, and the commitment that was involved.*

Advocacy for youth and youth issues is an important part of the work of the All Stars Project. In both creating public forums young people to address their issues and working to strengthen developmental programs for youth, it is in the forefront of movements to serve the poor and underserved young people of our country.

8. *Have high expectations, clear goals, and social norms for their participants.*

Participants in ASTSN/DSY recognize the positive expectations that the program directors and staff have for them:

> *DSY is a program that provides a positive atmosphere for young people to develop strong mentalities. I feel more focused and strong-willed that I can achieve whatever I set my mind to.*

These high expectations are not only for the youth participants. The general level of expectation includes the commitment and performance of those involved in the development and delivery of the programs. The young people commented on this:

> *The DSY associates are very strict in doing what they say, which makes them nonhypocrites.*

Commitment and hard work are the common coin for adults and youth alike. One of the most appealing facets of the ASTSN/DSY programs is that they provide young people with organized and constructive activities that require effort and hard work. For instance, the young people interviewed in the study reported "practicing over and over" to perfect their performance for the All Stars Talent Show. This was also evident to anyone attending the audition. Many of the young people had found a corner of the entrance to the school auditorium to practice one more time before the beginning of the show. The quest for excellence has a palpable presence in the programs and participants of the All Stars Project.

9. *Recognize that positive adult-youth relationships are significant to program (and participant) success.*

In ASTSN, the young people meet positive adults and peers who help them to set attainable goals and high expectations for themselves. They are given the responsibility for operating expensive production equipment, producing a show, and managing the acts, and they experience the success of the show—all as hands-on experiential learning activities. ASTSN is a place where young people can walk away from their experiences looking at themselves and society in a different way. They learn that they can create new and positive roles for themselves and that they do not have to be stuck in the roles and stereotypes that society has prescribed for them. More importantly, they learn that wherever they go, they will always be an "All Star."

Similarly, in DSY the Program Associates become role models who create a nurturing and supportive environment, or "stage," where all young people are valued, accepted, and heard. Staff members are patient and positive with the participants, encouraging them to ask questions and, in turn, taking the time to answer each and every question. Program Associates continually encourage the participants to express themselves in their own language without devaluing them for speaking the English of their family and community (e.g., "Black English") and without the linguistic restrictions that classroom environments often create. In DSY, the adults try to effectively include young people, helping them to play roles in the adult world by involving them in every aspect of running the program.

Another major component of the programs is the opportunities they provide for young people to establish supportive social networks with adults that can help in the present as well as in the future. As Lydia, a 17-year-old former DSY participant, explained:

> *DSY has developed a certain reputation. When we went to places [corporations,] people knew us. Even in the future we can call up people. We have their phone numbers. We can call them and say, let's do lunch.*

When asked what was surprising about his experience with "corporate and wealthy adults," Robert, an 18-year-old participant, observed:

> *You would think that the corporate people—the White people—you would think that they're trying to be snotty with you, but they really like respect you. They really want to talk to you.*

Another long-time volunteer commented:

> *Pam will write a letter of recommendation for the kids. She's helped people get a job or get into college.*

As Dan, a long-time youth volunteer, recounted:

> *One sponsor took a van load of kids to his house in the Hamptons. He had a barbeque for them, a boat, and volleyball set up. They would never experience something like that except seeing it on MTV."*

10. *Specify their program outcomes and evaluate the extent to which these goals are achieved.*

The ASTSN/DSY programs have conducted some interesting self-studies. Work by Dr. Lois Holzman is highly reflective and has been formative in the development of the program. Outcomes evaluations have been done by All Stars Project programs. One evaluative project that is especially illustrative of the reflective quality of the programs is a video made by ASTSN youth participants in which they developed interview questions and then made a dynamic video of on-the-spot interviews. Until the present evaluation, no formal outside evaluation has been undertaken.

With the completion of this evaluation, the ASTSN/DSY programs reach a higher level on this criterion. As evaluators we would like to suggest that opportunities for evaluation are lost when thorough documentation of processes and activities is not followed. For example, DSY has professionals interview students both at the entry point and near the end of their series of workshops. If the entry point interviewers were to use the same evaluation form as the exit interviewers, a comparison could easily be made, and important data could be gathered without any additional effort.

11. Provide opportunities for participants to contribute to the community.

Another important function of the ASTSN/DSY programs is that they help youth to contribute to the well being of their communities and thus to develop a sense of agency as a member of their community. In ASTSN, doing community outreach for the auditions and shows is not only predictive of the success of the show but also a prerequisite for many of the young people. As Will, a dedicated and enthusiastic high school participant, commented:

> *Almost everybody in the beginning does outreach. That's like the first thing you do when you're here. If you don't do outreach, something is wrong! You could just say, the All Stars is like a positive gang, and the initiation is to do outreach!*

IX. Summary Impressions

Three overriding concerns claim the attention of the supplementary education and youth development movements. These concerns provide a lens through which to arrive at summary impressions of the ASTSN and DYS initiatives:

(1) Meeting the human resource development needs of young people
(2) Developing self understanding, self regulation and self presentation competencies
(3) Creating protective and supportive community contexts for the development of young people

The youth development work of the All Stars Project admirably addresses these three concerns, and stands as an exemplary effort in a field that is bursting with creative activity.

Human Resource Development

The two programs studied address human resource development with different degrees of emphasis. ASTSN paints on this canvas in very broad strokes. Young people are recruited into an exciting community event where they can use whatever talent they bring to perform on stage or help to produce, manage, or support a talent show. For most of the participants, it is a one-time, somewhat marginal experience. For others, the involvement is intensive and extended. For the first group, the talent show is something to do, and in the course of the doing, some attitudes, appreciations, awareness, knowledge, and skills are developed. For the second group, those who become attached to the network, our informants report that they have acquired deeper self-understanding, a greater sense of responsibility, and enhanced capacity for self-management and presentation. Participation in ASTSN does not appear to be associated with improved academic performance, but we anticipate that there is a positive association between degree of involvement with ASTSN and persistence/progress in school. The noted political scientist Charles Hamilton argues that when a community has something to do and to be excited about, the members of that community tend to be more deeply involved in the institutions and privileged values of that community. ASTSN approaches human resource development through the generation of a sense of community and the individual's capacity to be an actor in that community. It creates a medium that is supportive of the development of human capital. These activities are loosely configured and short on explicit structure, but they appear to be powerful forces for cohesion, identification and affirmation of self.

DSY takes a much more structured approach to human resource development. This program is very clear about its intent to socialize young adults for participation in the corporate sector. Although standards are much more implicit than explicit, there can be little doubt about what one is expected to do and become. Modeling is, perhaps, the primary instrument. Through living in and acting out the roles required in the corporate context, the modal standards are internalized. For those for whom the process does not work, acculturation, coaching, and direct guidance and instruction are a part of the program. Although the current stage of our evaluation has not included a formal assessment of the impact of this intervention on the development of participants, through interviews, focus groups, observations, and self-reports, it is clear that this intervention increases and enhances human capital in the student participants. It should also be noted that some of the supervising persons report having grown as a function of their participation.

Social Competence Development

DSY has the advantage over ASTSN in being more selective in recruiting participants and in having considerably more and longer contacts with these participants. As a result, while both programs address the needs of participants for enhancing self-understanding, self-regulation, and self-presentation, ASTSN is able to emphasize self-presentation in a direct way, while DSY uses self-understanding and self-regulation as instruments with which to improve self-presentation. Self-presentation is an end for both programs. There is some unevenness in the extent to which high levels of competence in self-presentation is achieved in ASTSN. This is to be expected, given the rules of the game. The young people who present themselves as products of the DSY provide strong testimony to the effectiveness of their developmental experiences. With a high degree of consistency, these young people end the experience well socialized to the expectations of the corporate community. In both business and social encounters, they appear sophisticated, knowledgeable, and at ease. We will be interested to see how readily these newly acquired competencies transfer to the wider lives of these young people. However, the corporate environments in which they function are so diverse that we have good reason to believe that adapting to a variety of contexts will not be a problem for them.

Community Context for Development

Clearly a powerful sense of community has developed around both ASTSN and DSY. ASTSN appears to touch a larger number of people, and has a more prominent presence in the communities where it operates. DYS has physical presence in the All Stars Project home base (soon to be enlarged and enhanced) as well as in the offices in which participants work and learn. We do not have a good measure of the impact of the wider community on the development of the participants. We are told that crime is down in some of these communities. We sense sustained involvement in formal schooling. In the ASTSN communities, we are told that incidents involving participants are rare. We gather, then, that these programs are associated with positive community contexts for the support of the development of youth. Our evaluation has not provided hard data with which to support this claim, but anecdotal data and the consensus of judgments do point in this direction.

Concluding Commentary

Just 25 years ago, the All Stars Talent Show Network program would have been called a talent show or amateur entertainment, and the Joseph A. Forgione Development School for Youth would have been called business or vocational education. At the turn of the 21st century, we recognize these theory-driven programs of the All Stars Project, Incorporated as unique examples of a new pedagogical genre called *supplementary education*. Unlike much of the educative activity that is now classified as supplemental to schooling, these two programs are intentionally developmental and theory driven. While the ASTSN activities are fun and entertaining, fun and entertainment are the human activity that is instrumental to the development of self-confidence, the refinement of skills, and the enhancement of competence in self-presentation. The apprenticeship and internship activity in which DSY participants engage is clearly preparatory to the achievement of corporate employability, but its purpose is to develop self-regulation, self-presentation, and human agency through purposeful human social activity.

Both of these programs intentionally engage young people in performances that are at the growing edges of their "zones of proximal development." Thus human activity, performance, scaffolded extension of self are core components of these programs, and these constructs are grounded in theories of human behavior advanced by such scholars as Cole, Holzman, Leontiev, Lewin, Luria, Newman, and Vygotsky. The interventions are clearly educative, but they occur in communities, outside of schools, and independent of input from schools. The uniqueness of this work is that it is intentionally developmental, theoretically driven, and supplementary to formal education. It is also exemplary.

In this initial connoisseur's evaluation, attention has been directed at documenting the implementation of these programs, and at determining the quality of each. Connoisseur judgments have been made based upon documentary analysis, participants' reactions, and observers' perceptions. We have not had access to data referable to the impact of these interventions on the short or long term behavioral development of learner participants.

Using criteria distilled from the emerging research literature concerning supplementary education and youth development, we have concluded that ASTSN is functioning at a high level of efficiency and effectiveness at community building, involving young people and their families in purposeful activity, encouraging self-confidence, and for some, enhancing competence in self-presentation. In our judgment, it appears that contact time in ASTSN may not be sufficient to significantly change the course of the lives of the participants. In the three behavioral domains identified—self-confidence, self-presentation, and skills development—significant behavioral change may require more extensive and intensive intervention.

Using the same criteria referred to above, we have concluded that DSY is functioning at an excellent level of efficiency and effectiveness in recruiting and engaging a diverse population of young people in a sustained effort at personal development through continuing guided performances in alien environments. To observe participants in this program during the intervention and as graduates from it is to see young people in various stages of the achievement of self-regulation. The modal expressions of self-confidence and self-presentation in the graduates of DSY are quite high. One is impressed by the degree of human agency manifested in these young people. On the more tangible side is the positive evidence of subsequent employment, often in the agencies where they have been trained. Of no small importance is their continuing association with and involvement in the DSY program. Our data are limited to self-reports, staff accounts, observations, and we do not have long-term follow-up data, the consistently positive accounts and the consistency across multiple informers contribute to the confidence we have in these conclusions. DSY is a powerfully constructive youth development intervention that can serve as a model for others to emulate.

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